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Kozyrev To Propose New Initiatives at CSCE Session

LD2911112093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0922 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is to propose new initiatives to enhance the role and effectiveness of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Kozyrev leaves for Rome by air on Monday [29 November] to attend the CSCE foreign ministers council meeting, opening in the Italian capital on November 30.

Russia has already circulated a working memo in which it suggests concrete measures in this respect, Yuriy Ushkov, head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Department for European Security and Cooperation, told ITAR-TASS.

The Russian delegation will also suggest that a special declaration on aggressive nationalism, which, in the opinion of the Russian side, is the prime cause of conflicts, be adopted in Rome.

The delegation's aim is to secure that a final document to be adopted in Rome is a compact and concise one and deals only with problems which directly concern the CSCE.

Since the prospect of the spread of nuclear weapons is the main threat to world security, Kozyrev intends to suggest that provisions for the consolidation of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and accession to the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by all countries be included in a final document of the meeting of foreign ministers from 53 countries.

The Russian delegation's other initiatives include a proposal to hold a special CSCE conference on migration problems, to work out a convention on aid to refugees and a charter of the rights of national minorities.

Russia suggests that the Vienna group of the committee of senior officials be transformed into a council of permanent representatives and that a common staff be created under the CSCE general secretary.

Interviewed Before Departure

LD2911201493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 November at 1800 GMT on 29 November, in its regular "Novosti" newscast, broadcasts a two-minute report which includes details on the working meeting between Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, which took place in Moscow today.

The correspondent adds that Andrey Kozyrev left for Rome tonight. He says that Kozyrev will take part in a sitting of the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers which opens tomorrow. Correspondent Beletskiy is then shown interviewing Kozyrev in an office prior to his departure for the meeting. He asks him about the main purpose of his trip to Rome. Kozyrev says:

"My aim is to make a routine meeting of the CSCE Council of Foreign Ministers react to the most acute issues, first and foremost in the sphere of security. What we have in the security sphere today is aggressive nationalism and bloody conflicts stemming from it. Second, we have been challenged by an emerging new nuclear state and the destruction of the regime of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, I mean our neighbor, fraternal Ukraine. As they say, friendship is friendship, but the law is the law. We are not talking here about a difference of opinion between Russia and Ukraine. We are talking about observing international legislation.

"Another thing is cooperation. It is presently needed to protect national minorities. We would like to see the post of high commissioner for ethnic minorities issues, set up at our initiative, gaining strength. Those are the topics, and they also happen to have been initiated by Russia."

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 29 November, in its regular "Vesti" newscast, also broadcasts a two-minute report on an interview with Foreign Minister Kozyrev prior to his departure for Rome.

Correspondent A. Kondulukov says: "Russia arrives at the CSCE conference with a package of quite specific proposals including a document on aggressive nationalism. Andrey Kozyrev noted that this problem is important, and not just for Russia."

Kozyrev then says: "It exists in the Baltic as a violation of the Russian-speaking population's rights, as well as in some other republics. It exists in Western Europe, too, as a rise of fascist and nationalist forces."

Kondulukov says that Ukraine's status will become the second main issue at the conference. The Ukrainian parliament endorsed, in fact, its status as a nuclear power recently. Kondulukov adds that in Kozyrev's view, Ukraine will become a subject of the most tough argument, since it is not simply a question of a country's foreign policy but of the system of European security that has taken shape. To sort things out with Ukraine's nuclear status is not only in Russia's interests, but in those of whole Europe, Andrey Kozyrev believes, says Kondulukov.

Addresses Meeting on 'New Challenges'

LD3011124793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1049 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Startsev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Rome, 30 Nov—New challenges to security and cooperation in Europe are taking on an increasingly dramatic character. The threat of aggressive nationalism has replaced that of totalitarianism. This was stated today by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev,

speaking at the fourth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the CSCE which is taking place in Rome.

The fact that manifestations of aggressive nationalism are gripping not only eastern but also central and western Europe demands much more decisive and urgent measures, the minister emphasized. He considers that what is needed above all is "unambiguous moral condemnation of these manifestations." The Russian side has therefore proposed the adoption of a document in which the CSCE participant states would declare that intolerance and xenophobia are incompatible with a civilized Europe standing on the threshold of the 21st century.

In A. Kozyrev's opinion it is important that the Rome forum should adopt measures to support and strengthen the institution of the CSCE's Supreme Commissar for National Minority Affairs. "There should be a guaranteeing of the effectiveness of humanitarian law in armed conflicts engendered by aggressive nationalism," he declared.

Andrey Kozyrev believes the CSCE has another important task; namely, to reinforce its peacekeeping potential in order to settle conflicts where agressive nationalism has led to bloodshed. He pointed to the special role of CSCE observers, who are "working heroically in South Ossetia, the Dniester region, and Abkhazia, acting hand in hand with the Russian Federation peacekeeping forces."

In this connection A. Kozyrev called upon the CSCE to support Russia's peacekeeping efforts and to reexamine the issue of CSCE observers returning to "hot spots" in the territory of former Yugoslavia. The minister thinks it would be correct for the CSCE to make the authorities in Belgrade aware that constructive steps on their part would open up prospects for the FRY to rejoin the CSCE. The minister believes that the CSCE should take upon itself the political coordination of peacekeeping efforts, within the framework of such organizations as NACC [North Atlantic Cooperation Council], CIS, NATO, and the Western European Union.

A. Kozyrev described as a fresh and unprecedented challenge to European security the fact that "for the first time since the signing of the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1968, we are seeing under way in Europe not a strengthening of the nonproliferation regime and new states joining it, but essentially the reverse." "One of the CSCE member states," the minister pointed out, "has, contrary to the obligations it assumed, officially announced that it possesses nuclear weapons. Furthermore, we are speaking here of an awesome nuclear potential exceeding that of some powers possessing nuclear weapons." The Russian Federation minister believes that this creates a completely new situation in terms of security on the continent of Europe. A. Kozyrev called upon the CSCE to make a determined declaration of the inviolability of the Nonproliferation Treaty.

Moscow Conference Discusses ABM Defenses

PM2611145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Scientists and Generals Creating Global 'Umbrella' Against Missiles"]

[Text] The first International Conference on Problems of a Global System of Defense Against Ballistic Missiles took place in Moscow 22-24 November.

Some 150 scientists, designers, and high-ranking military specialists from eight countries participated. They included representatives from the United States, Belgium, China, and France, whose delegation was, incidentally, the largest. Its organizers were the Russian Academy of Sciences, the international "Integration" fund, and the "Vympel" interstate joint-stock corporation.

There were three sections working under the cochairmanship of Academicians Yevgeniy Velikhov and Yevgeniy Fedosov on military-political aspects of global defense [GZRK], missile attack early-warning data systems, and ABM defense systems themselves and the technology of defense systems.

"The urgency of the problems under discussion," Anatoliy Basistov, a member of the conference's organizing committee and general designer of Russia's ABM system, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent, "is dictated by the fact that today, aside from the five nuclear club powers, dozens of countries, including North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and Libya, possess strategic missile armaments as well as intermediate- and shorter-range ballistic missiles.... Many peoples have felt the need for guaranteed protection against this weaponry.

The United States and Russia have signed a corresponding agreement, are reducing their strategic weapons, and are strictly complying with the ABM Treaty, but their accord has not yet served as an example to other states possessing ballistic missiles. How to make the world a safer place; whether it is possible to cooperate in such a delicate and closed field as ABM defense without going beyond the natural limits it imposes; how to make work on ABM defense more efficient and economical—all this was discussed at the conference.

It was the opinion of several observers that it is hard to expect this first international conference of its kind to produce revolutionary decisions and breakthroughs in the formulation of a single concept of defense against "star wars," but the fact that scientists and generals from countries which had earlier regarded each other with great suspicion took their places around a single table and began to attempt to resolve common problems of strategic missile defense is already cause for some optimism.

Joint Armed Forces Committees Meet in Moscow

PM2911144793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Public Information Center: "Sessions of Military-Technical Committee and Committee for Manpower Acquisition and Cadres"]

[Text] Sessions of the Military-Technical Committee and the Committee for Manpower Acquisition and Cadres, in which representatives from the Defense Ministries of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Russia, and Ukraine took part, were held at the headquarters of the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command 24 November.

Draft documents on the procedure for organizing repairs to weapons and hardware at Ministry of Defense enterprises in CIS states and the procedure for instructing, maintaining, and assigning cadets and students to military-training institutions were discussed during the sessions.

'Baltic Battalion' Formed To Aid UN Peacekeepers

PM2611144193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 3

[Valeriy Gromak report: "'Baltic Battalion' of UN Peacemaking Forces Set up. Baltic State Military Department Leaders Adopt a Plan for Joint Maneuvers in 1994"]

[Text] Tallinn—The commanders of the Armed Forces of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—Jonas Andriskievicius, Dainis Turlais, and Alexander Einseln—have held a meeting in Tallinn at which they made a decision to hold joint exercises of infantry companies of the three countries in Estonia next February, battalion exercises in Lithuania in July, and, finally, another exercise, in Latvia, in October. The exercises will be held in the context of setting up a single "Baltic Battalion" of UN peacemaking forces.

"On the basis of the statement by the governments and presidents of the Baltic countries on integration within NATO and readiness to participate in UN peacekeeping forces, preparation is to begin by the end of 1994 to create a single peacekeeping subunit, the 'Baltic Batallion,' which will be placed at the disposal of UN peacemaking forces for employment outside the former Soviet empire," the army commanders' decision says.

Alexander Einseln, commander of the Estonian Defense Forces, considers that the creation of the battalion and the technical organization of its activity are the task of the military while the political decision on a single battalion has to be made by politicians. They should make a political decision on the peacemaking character of the single subunit, but even if such a decison is not made, according to Einseln, the creation of the battalion "will take another step toward the military cooperation of the three countries."

It has been resolved to create a single battalion command: a Lithuanian officer will be the commander, his deputy will be a Latvian, and the chief of staff will be an Estonian. The staff will also be formed from officers of the three countries. It has been resolved that the battalion leadership and staff will be changed once a year. The new subunit will have a strength of around 650 men.

Russia Transfers Maritime Safety Equipment to Baltics

WS2611155993 Tallinn BNS in English 1230 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Kaliningrad, Nov 25, BNS—Russia gave the Baltic states the last of its maritime safety equipment in the Baltic Sea last week.

Units of Russia's naval water-study service in the three countries are to be liquidated by Dec. 1.

Estonia now controls 29 lighthouses and their adjoining facilities, 222 navigation signs, 108 buoys, five small research boats and two bigger boats.

Latvia received 18 lighthouses, 71 navigation signs, 61 buoys; Lithuania got three beacons, 10 navigation signs and one buoy.

Capt. Boris Yuhnin, deputy commander of the service in Russia's Baltic Sea Fleet, said the Baltic commissions that examined the facilities recorded no evidence of environmental damage caused by the Russian forces.

Maps of the coastal seas of Estonia and Latvia will be delivered by the Russian Defense Ministry's department for maritime affairs and oceanography, he added. The parties have ruled to retain the existing scheme of collecting and exchanging data concerning maritime safety.

Russia says it is ready to help the Baltics in the training of personnel for the equipment, as well as in running the equipment. Russia and Latvia already have an agreement for Russia to help replace buoys in Latvia's coastal waters before winter.

Estonia and Lithuania are going to pay for the equipment later, but Latvia has said it would pay all at once. Russia has delayed in giving Latvia the navigation boats, because the country so far has failed to pay the nearly half-billion roubles for the equipment.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 30 Nov

LD3011064693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0530 GMT 30 Nov 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 30 Tass—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar's answers given to the newspaper readers' questions asked during a phone-in.

The main task of the forthcoming elections to the federal assembly in December is to form "a responsible parliament capable of intelligently engaging in lawmaking activities and shaping a budgetary policy", Gaydar said in response to questions.

Speaking about a possible cabinet reshuffle, Gaydar remarked that "this the prerogative of the president—according to the draft constitution which, I hope, will be supported in the end."

Besides, when deciding on the matter one should be guided by the need to "maintain stability in Russia and continuity of authority," he added.

Asked whether Russia intends to maintain economic relations with ex-Soviet republics, Gaydar said such relations "are of benefit to Russia itself and we shall, of course, maintain them".

Gaydar said the government intends appreciably to lower the rate of inflation so that it would not be higher than 15 per cent a month. "We expect that within 1994 we shall manage to make the economy a low-inflation one and beat inflation down to not more than 3-5 per cent a month", he added.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (Independent Newspaper) on the Moscow federal district idea.

According to the newspaper's correspondent, there exists a draft presidential decree about the administrative-territorial unificaiton of Moscow city and Moscow region. The newspaper frontpages the text of the draft decree.

The journalist, analysing the draft decree, gives the opinion of staff members of the Moscow mayor's office who believe that the formation of such a district would promote the controllability of socio-political processes being engendered by Russian reforms as well as resistance to attempts "to destabilise the situation in the Russian Federation by maliciously bringing about social, political and economic tension" in Moscow and the region.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) on Moscow Air Defence District and the degree of its preparedness.

An inspection carried out in units of the district has shown that the district "is prepared for the accomplishment of designated tasks", the writer of the article points out.

"Of course, a reforming of air defence forces is attended by a number of difficulties brought about by the present-day state of the economy and the Armed Forces. But, nevertheless, air defence forces maintain their readiness at a hign level", he notes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the Russian Navy.

The newspaper carries an interview with Admiral Igor Kasatonov. In September 1992 he was appointed the first deputy commander-in-chief of the Russian Navy but almost until the end of January this year he performed the duties of the commander of the Black Sea Fleet. The admiral's opinion is that Russia's Northern Fleet "has been, is and will remain fleet number one". "This is a fleet which still has available the most powerful material resources which ensure support for the naval strategic nuclear system," Kasatonov said. "Anyhow, the Northern Fleet with its ballistic missiles ensures both the security of Russia's borders and her due prestige. This is an indispensable component of the foreign policy of our state", he pointed out.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on the problem of settling the arrears of miners' wages.

The arrears have amounted by now to 400,000 million roubles. First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar admitted that "part of the country's diamond stock is to be sold to settle the arrears".

According to first vice-premier Oleg Soskovets, "the government has managed to find additional 77,000 million roubles in additional budgetary funds to settle the arrears of miners' wages."

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI comments on reassignment of duties in the Council of Ministers.

The newspaper points out, in particular, that "Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has long given appropriate assignments according to which matters connected with the foreign debt problem and relationships with international organisations are being placed under the authority of Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov."

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (Rural Life) on the provision of fuel for all Russian regions.

"The unaccustomed frosts for this time of the year and the substandard condition of a number of power facilities in some populated areas give ground for pessimistic forecasts.

"Most disquieting is the fact that the fuel-and-power supply in the country has deteriorated of late. A shortage of fuel for power stations for last week amounted to 27 million tonnes. The ministry of the Fuel and Power Industry is prepared additionally to provide 14 million tonnes of fuel. The rest of the needed amount will have to be found resultant of economising."

Commitment to U.S. on Technology Sales To Be Honored

LD2911193393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow intends to stick to its commitments on a Russo-American memorandum concerning the export of missiles and their production technology. The intention has been voiced in an interview with Interfax by a spokesman for the Khrunichev Scientific Industrial Center, directly fulfilling a contract on the supply of cryogenic engines to India.

Signed by Russia's Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin and U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore in Washington on September 2 this year, the memorandum provides for appropriately amending by January 1, 1994, the Soviet-Indian deal of 1991, envisaging the shipment of cryogenic engines to India. The amendments are to conform the contract to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

India is currently paying host to a delegation of experts from the Khrunichev center and from the Glavkosmos joint-stock company, which signed the contract with India's Space Commission on the former USSR's behalf. The delegation is negotiating final terms for bilateral cooperation in line with MTCR requirements.

The spokesman told Interfax that new cooperation conditions would most likely not envisage the supply of special equipment and technology to produce cryogenic engines, nor would they provide for Indian specialists' training. These points relate to additional agreements on the basic contract, which are about 5% of the contract's sum.

The basic contract on the delivery of two cryogenic engines will be fulfilled. The first engine is to be delivered to India in 1995.

U.S. Blamed for Ukraine's Move on Nuclear Weapons

PM2911131793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Commentary by Stanislav Kondrashov: "That Kiev Is Holding on to Nuclear Weapons Is the Fault of Moscow and Washington"]

[Text] Ukraine has ratified the START I treaty, but with amendments bringing to the fore its intention to retain the status of a nuclear state. President Leonid Kravchuk effectively takes the same stance as the parliament. There are no disagreements between them on the two main prior conditions of Ukraine's movement toward nuclear-free status: broad guarantees of security against nuclear and conventional attack, and also financial and technical aid on fulfillment of the START I commitments. A specific sum is named in dollars —between 2.8 and 5 million.

This news story was carried in the Russian newspapers for only a day or two, but it does not belong to the transient category. Sergey Rogov, an authoritative specialist on nuclear weapons, is near to the truth in claiming that the Ukrainian nuclear weapons "could upset the balance of power in the world." If Kazakhstan follows Ukraine's example, Russia will be the only country with three (including China) immediate nuclear neighbors. It will be easier for North Korea, Iran, Iraq, India, Pakistan... to penetrate the nuclear club through the gigantic breach formed in the nuclear nonproliferation regime. The dangerous bipolar world of the Cold War will be replaced by a multipolar nuclear (!) world that will be even more dangerous if weapons of mass destruction end up in the hands of 'marginal states.'"

Surely Ukraine, having opened the Chernobyl chapter of history in April 1986, is not now going to be the source of a new, worldwide, military atomic danger?

Even without entertaining apocalyptic fears, one cannot fail to note that the central international clause of the December 1991 Belovezhskaya Forest Agreements has burst like a soap bubble. Relations between Moscow and Kiev are not developing in the way that was envisaged. And Washington has been deceived in its expectations that the Soviet nuclear heritage would end up in one safe—and moreover, democratic—pair of hands. However, there were, of course, not just expectations. In the course of a memorable telephone conversation from Minsk between Boris Yeltsin and Washington, George Bush, learning of the end of the USSR before Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, at the same time received direct assurances concerning the fate of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. This question, of course, was and remains the most important for the United States. The assurances and commitments were repeated when then Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Moscow that same December.

As we know, these promises and commitments continued to multiply in CIS documents, and in 1992—on the Americans' initiative—took the form of an international commitment whereby Ukraine, along with Kazakhstan and Belarus, swore to take nuclear-free status and sign the Lisbon protocol.

Well, pardon the expression, were we all duped? Well, no; no premeditated, perfidious strategy is to be found. Only improvisation on all sides. And in the course of improvisation we saw, on the one hand, so to speak, a loss of vigilance, and on the other, an appetite which came with eating and peculiar nuclear temptations. Neither Moscow nor Washington carried out any serious work with Kiev, and, the more time passed, the more powerful were pronuclear sentiments there and the attraction to particular nuclear trump cards in foreign policy. And the worse Ukraine's economic position became, the more insuperable was the need for a "payoff" from Russia and, above all, from wealthy America.

The strong words of protest emanating right now from the Russian Foreign Ministry are, first, belated and, second, hardly help matters. Threats of economic sanctions are unrealizable—they will punish the people, not the politicians. In any case, sanctions will not take the place overnight of what has never existed, and, alas, still does not exist, in Russia's relations with Ukraine—well-considered, meticulous diplomatic work, which sporadic meetings between the two presidents have been unable to replace. Without getting hung up about apologies to our neighbor, it is essential that we look seriously at the terms it has advanced and attempt to work out a compromise.

The Russian Government's recently published statement calls the ratification of the START I treaty by the Ukrainian parliament "fictitious," providing grounds for international countermeasures including measures within the Security Council framework. At the same time it talks about Russia's readiness for "constructive dialogue with the Ukrainian side." It would be a good thing if the accent were placed precisely on dialogue.

Still greater complaints can be made against Washington. The well-established state, where no hitches are observed even during changes of president or secretary of state, did not notice that Russia's leaders, their heads plunged in internal political contention, lack strength, time, experience, and, finally, a real understanding of how far things can "go wrong" over the fate of nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory if they are not purposefully channeled in the right direction from the very beginning.

Washington disappointed our expectations even more than Kiev—it let down the expectations of both Kiev and Moscow. In the new era Washington finds itself unsuited to the "elder brother" role, even though it was surely the democrats of Moscow and Kiev who initially pressed it to take on the role. The "elder brother" was not bold enough to use the methods of exerting pressure on the anarchistic heirs to yesterday's archrival and enemy, and when it came to handing out the cookies—I think that this is the main point—it proved to be tightfisted and stingy—to the disappointment of the "younger brothers."

Visiting Kiev in October Secretary of State Christopher, tried and failed to gratify the Ukrainians with $175 million instead of the $2.8-5 billion requested for Ukraine's nuclear disarmament at the levels envisaged in the START I treaty. And Moscow, with envious eyes, was unwilling to do any prompting. Of course, no form of nuclear blackmail should be encouraged, not all demands but only well-founded ones should be met, and even in Washington money does not grow on trees. However, there are situations which test one's scale of thinking, one's ability to assess expenses and gains appropriately in the light of possible dangers. You cannot get anything for nothing—that is a rule of U.S. trade, including military-diplomatic trade. Seemingly, they forgot it.

What happened in Kiev last week adds to the list of Clinton administration foreign policy failures and blunders—a list which already includes Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti. Perhaps it does not simply add to it, but heads it.

Experts Demand Dismantling of Ukraine's Warheads

LD3011161293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1426 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The further presence of nuclear warheads in conditions created in Ukraine is absolutely inadmissible. Everything in human power must be done to take the only possible decision - remove the nuclear warheads to Russia at once for the purpose of scrapping them. This is announced in an appeal to the citizens and governments of Ukraine, Russia and other countries signed by 11 experts from Russia's Atomic Energy Ministry, Academicians Khariton and Avronin among them. The appeal was read at Tuesday's [30 November] briefing in Moscow by the chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's press and information department, Grigoriy Karasin.

According to the Russian experts, recent check-ups of nuclear weapons deployed in Ukraine revealed a number of serious violations in handling nuclear warheads. "The registered violations include: too many nuclear warheads in the highest degree of combat readiness stocked in one spot; no systematic technical servicing; untimely replacement of the components whose time of guarantee expired; failure to observe the rules of transportation, and the like," the appeal says.

"These violations may lead to accidents with consequences whose scope would be comparable with the Chernobyl catastrophe," the appeal says.

According to the experts, the situation is aggravated by the circumstance that "the nuclear warheads deployed in Ukraine lack physical protection answering to contemporary requirements." "The strict system of handling and servicing nuclear arms, which existed in the USSR for many years and which continues to function in Russia, has been destroyed in Ukraine," the appeal says.

Its authors dismiss the statements of some politicians that nuclear warheads can be dismantled in Ukraine. "Neither the specialists of the necessary qualification nor the right conditions for dismantling are available in Ukraine. Foreign specialists will be of no help either. A safe dismantling of nuclear warheads is possible only at those Russian plants where they were manufactured," said the authors of the appeal.

Gromov Says Kazakhstan Jeopardizing Nuclear Safety

LD3011125693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0425 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The Kazakhstan leadership is steadily retreating from its previous undertakings to grant Russia all powers over nuclear weapons. Colonel General Boris Gromov,

Russia's deputy minister of defense, declared this after his tour of the Central Asian states of the CIS. According to Gen. Gromov, such an approach by Almaty makes it very difficult to ensure nuclear safety, as well as creating serious political problems. The warranty period of some nuclear munitions in Kazakhstan has already expired, he said.

Border Troops Commander Postpones Visit to Almaty

LD2911135593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1228 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Commander of the Russian border troops Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev has put off his visit to Almaty, because of an unexpected inspection trip to Vorkuta, the headquarters of Kazakhstan's border troops told Interfax.

The same source reports, however, that Nikolayev's visits to the Central Asian countries would certainly take place. One of their goals is the replacement of the contingent of the CIS countries which are signatories to the agreement on collective security on the Tajik-Afghan border.

Most servicemen of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, located on the Tajik-Afghan border, will leave for home in December when their contracts expire.

Diplomat Warns Latvian Parliament About Treaty

LD2411192393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1535 GMT 24 Nov 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] If the parliament in Riga cancels the ratification of Latvia's treaty with Russia signed on January 14th, 1991, this would mean "a serious reversal" in bilateral relations. By taking this decision Latvia's parliament "would actually put itself on the same level with Russia's former Supreme Soviet, which refused to ratify the document for political reasons." A senior Russian diplomat responsible for relations with the Baltic countries said so in an interview with Interfax.

As we already reported, the presidium of Latvia's parliament included debates on the possibility of cancelling the intergovernmental agreement signed by President Boris Yeltsin and by the heads of the Baltic countries' parliaments in Tallinn in January, 1991, on the agenda of its Thursday's plenary session. This move was substantiated with the failure to mention the 1920 peace treaty between Latvia and Russia in the document.

According to Interfax's interviewee, this attitude is connected with Latvia's desire to "officially state" its territorial claims to Russia, since under the 1920 treaty part of today's Pskov Region belonged to the Republic of Latvia. "Russia never recognized that treaty," he said. "If Latvia's parliament cancels the ratification of the already signed intergovernmental agreement, relations between the two countries will be suspended."

Defense Ministry Meeting Views CIS Military Cooperation

LD2911150993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Issues of military cooperation between the Russian Federation and CIS countries were considered in Moscow Monday at the Russian Defence Ministry's collegium, INTERFAX was informed by a spokesman for the Defence Ministry.

The speakers said that following joint work by the Russian Defence and Foreign ministries' experts, the legal basis for military-political and military technical cooperation with the CIS countries was formed, and the system of collective security created. Some progress has been achieved in the sphere of observance of political and juridical rights and in providing social guarantees for the Russian military who carry out their military service in other CIS countries.

Speakers drew attention to the fact that the order and terms of compliance with the international treaty for strategic offensive armaments have not yet been coordinated with Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Agreements with other states are also to be specified and supplemented.

It was noted that the talks with leaders of Estonia, Latvia and Moldova about the legal status, and schedule for the Russian troop withdrawal are proceeding with difficulty .

Official Urges Support for CIS 'Multinationals'

MK3011104093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 85, 30 Nov 93 (Signed to Press 29 Nov) p 2

[Yelena Kolokoltseva report under the "Cooperation" rubric: "Multinational Corporations Revive Former Union's Links. State Will be Helping Them"]

[Text] Yesterday's news conference by Vladimir Mashchits, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee on Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States, was devoted to problems of preserving economic ties among enterprises of CIS member states. According to experts' assessments, the severance of these ties accounts for more than 50 percent of the total production slump in Russia. One way to overcome the situation of crisis may be, in the opinion of the minister, to design a mechanism for state support to multinational structures that continue to maintain relations between enterprises of the Commonwealth countries after the breakup of the Union. Vladimir Mashchits advised that the State Committee on Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States is currently drafting an agreement "On Assistance in the Development of Financial-Industrial Groups of Production Multinational Corporations, Associations, and Joint Ventures." Last

Friday the heads of 20 multinational structures such as Gazprom, "LUKoil," and "Surgutneftegaz" held a conference with representatives of the State Committe. on Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States, the Finance Ministry, Foreign Ministry, and Central Bank to discuss its main aspects.

Never denying the need for demonopolization, Vladimir Mashchits nevertheless criticized the position of the State Committee on the Administration of State Property which, in his words, is trying to dismember these associations. "A major part of the multinational corporations was created within the framework of the former Union and now represent former Union ministries and central directorates. It is also no secret that multinational corporations are headed by the chiefs of these same agencies. But former ministers are tackling the slump quite successfully at their own enterprises," stated the chairman of the State Committee of Economic Cooperation with Commonwealth Member States.

Churkin Previews Geneva Talks on Bosnia

AU2911211693 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 27-30 Nov 93 p 11

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaly Churkin by Djuro Bilbija in Moscow; date not given: "Agreement on Bosnia Is Melting the Sanctions"]

[Text] Since there is not a more competent person for the Yugoslav crisis in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia than Mr. Vitaly Churkin, an interview with him on the eve of the new round of the Geneva peace talks seemed almost inevitable....

[Bilbija] Are you certainly going to Geneva?

[Churkin] Of course. This is necessary....

[Bilbija] Which attitudes will you support in Geneva?

[Churkin] The main element in my "Geneva platform" is: You have to make an agreement. All necessary things must be done in order to reach peace for Bosnia at last and to lift the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia. After that, you have to try hard to find a solution to other problems in the former Yugoslavia.

[Bilbija] As far as the sanctions are concerned, various opinions have already been heard. On the one hand, it is considered that their removal could start as soon as an agreement between Serbia and the Muslims about the territorial concessions has been reached, but on the other hand there are also opinions that the complete peace package for Bosnia must not only be signed, but also its implementation begun before the sanctions are eased. There is also a third opinion—that it would be wise to suspend the sanctions as long as the negotiations continue. What do you think about all this?

[Churkin] There are many dilemmas about the sequence of events, but as far as I am informed, nobody has so far mentioned the possibility that the sanctions could be lifted before a peace treaty for Bosnia has been signed. It is quite clear that the sanctions will be neither lifted nor suspended before a treaty is signed. This is certain. A peace treaty is the first step to be made.

[Bilbija] What do you have in mind when you speak about a peace treaty for Bosnia?

[Churkin] By the treaty that has to be signed I understand all the points already discussed in Geneva and on the British aircraft carrier. Apart from that, it is necessary that the war stops and that the materialization of the peace treaty starts.

[Bilbija] Since you consider the Geneva peace talks to be very important, it seems that neither you nor Russia support the idea that the Bosnian problem should be linked either to "a global conference on the former Yugoslavia," or to a "conference on the Balkan issue," the options discussed lately. Is this impression correct?

[Churkin] Your observation in completely correct. The second positive element, apart from the change of perspective on the necessity to lift the sanctions introduced against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is that many international powers, including the European Union and others, now agree with the attitude Russia has been supporting for a long time—that the peace process for Bosnia has to be completed first, and that the peace talks on Bosnia can in no way become the hostage of the ideas and concepts about "a global solution." I am especially encouraged by the fact that all of the people we had contacts with during the last several days think so.

[Bilbija] How would you comment on the reserved attitudes toward certain "global solutions" that have appeared in the meantime, not only in Belgrade, but also in Zagreb and among the Muslims?

[Churkin] I would not like to analyze all the shades of the statements made about this issue. I did not even have the time to analyze every one of the "shades." I think that one should not get too upset about it. As I already pointed out, it is a priority now to solve the Bosnian problem. Apart from that, I hope that we shall soon start solving the Krajina issue and the relations between Croatia and Serbia in general. As soon as we reach the necessary "dynamics" [preceding word in English]—as the English would express it—the remaining controversial issues on the former Yugoslavia will appear in a different light.

It seems to me therefore that it is counterproductive to try to define which of the questions will be treated in which conference. Let me be straightforward; it is not good to make plans for the conferences and their agendas for the next five years. The problems mature for solving have to be solved first, other questions can be solved more easily after that.

[Bilbija] Vladimir Volkov, the director of the Institute for Slavic Studies and the Balkans in Moscow, warned

that a "global conference" could be the shortest way to a third Balkan war. Do you share his fear?

[Churkin] My attitude is different, but I have certain fears, too. If some of the ideas that have appeared now are abandoned, it is possible that the present hopes are destroyed. For example: If the world, regardless of the dialogue that has just begun among the warring factions, wants to dictate a solution and decides that a decision can only be taken in "the sixth session of the London conference" [not further specified], everything could relapse into the previous state and be lost for a very long time....

[Bilbija] Has Russia already taken a stand on the recent statement by Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian president, in which he said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would not participate in the work of a future "global conference" unless the sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted?

[Churkin] I think that this is one of the issue that should not be argued about now—because of the reasons I mentioned above. If the things in Geneva develop according to the logic of the European Union, which Russia also accepted some time ago, this means that we shall soon have a peace treaty for Bosnia, that the process of its materialization will start relatively quickly, and that the removal of the sanctions will follow.... Only after that, something called "London 2" and "London 3" can be planned....

All this might also be irrelevant, since there is a possibility that the sanctions are lifted by that time. Therefore there is no need to hold long discussions now about who and under what conditions will participate in the work of a certain political meeting. That such discussions are irrelevant is also confirmed by the fact that nobody can convene "London 2" or "London 3" overnight.

[Bilbija] What do you think about the statement made by Mr. Tudjman that the biggest danger for the Republic of Croatia and the Croats is now "the Muslim expansion," and that the Croatian Army can march into Bosnia if this is necessary in order to protect Herzeg-Bosna, in spite of the risk that the sanctions may also be introduced against Zagreb?

[Churkin] I told you, in connection with Milosevic's statement, that I do not want to comment on single statements, but I would like to say that I am very concerned about the Croatian-Muslim conflict in Bosnia. This conflict is one of the reasons why I am—in spite of positive signals—to a certain extent skeptical about the Geneva peace talks. This conflict is creating an unfavorable atmosphere for the talks on the peace plan for Bosnia since the plan for Bosnia is conceived as a tripartite agreement. If the possibility of a Serbian-Muslim agreement arises, the Croatian-Muslim conflict might be an obstruction to it. The Croatian-Muslim conflict is becoming deeper and more complicated. This makes me feel bitter....

[Bilbija] The Serbian-Muslim negotiations on the future of Sarajevo are under way. If, after all, a separate peace treaty between Serbs and Muslims is signed, will this be enough for a gradual easing of the sanctions?

[Churkin] In your question the word "if" is so big that I would not dare make any prognosis of this kind.

[Bilbija] There is the impression that the international community is becoming "softer" toward Yugoslavia and to the problem of the sanctions. Do not also you think that the world has relaxed its attitude?

[Churkin] I think that this process is going on. A kind of "easing" can be noticed. Taking into consideration the interests of Yugoslavia and Serbs in general, I therefore think that the present moment is extremely favorable for the final decisive step toward peace. What is more, I am afraid that any hesitation is dangerous since this "moment" will not last for a long time.

Naturally, I am not capable of and I do not want to predict the future, but I am really convinced that the present moment is favorable, but I am at the same time convinced that nobody can with certainty say how the events will unfold in the next month or two. I think that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian side should bear in mind that this "moment" can even turn into an unfavorable one if the chance it offers is missed....

Cautious Optimism

[Bilbija] Taking into consideration the latest events in connection with Bosnia, including also the tour you have just completed, what can objectively be expected from the Geneva peace talks?

[Churkin] I hope that the Geneva meeting will be the last international meeting on Bosnia. Therefore I am appealing to all warring factions to try hard to reach an agreement. Since I am speaking for a Yugoslav newspaper now, I would also like to appeal to the Serbian side to show a maximum of productivity in order to complete this Geneva round by signing an agreement.

All this does not mean, however, that I can guarantee that things will develop in a certain way. Unfortunately, I am not fully convinced that everything will end happily....

"More Flexible Approach" of Europe

[Bilbija] Several days ago, in a statement for the TASS news agency, you mentioned that the European Union would come to Geneva with a "more flexible approach," owing to the Russian contribution. Can you explain this statement of yours?

[Churkin] When I mentioned "a more flexible approach," I had in mind that some time ago nobody wanted to discuss scaling down the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia except for Russia. The only thing that was heard was that this problem would be discussed after a peace treaty for Bosnia was reached....

Now, the European Union is beginning to speak about the removal of the sanctions as soon a peace treaty is signed. I interpret this as a considerable progress in the attitude of the international community toward the sanctions. It must be clear, however, that without a peace treaty all the talks on a possible removal of the sanctions will remain hypothetical and abstract.

Swedish Prime Minister Concludes Visit

Views Relations

LD2911213793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Relations between Russia and Sweden are now better than ever before. Each side has its own interests, but now they are observed in a civilized way, Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt told students of the Moscow State Institute for International Relations today.

He said Russia and Sweden had almost no differences at the moment. The only exception was unidentified submarines appearing in Swedish territorial waters from time to time. Sweden believes that the submarines belong to Russia, while Moscow categorically dismisses the accusations.

Speaking on the coming December 12 elections to the Federal Assembly, the prime minister said they gave Russia a great chance to join the world community as a dynamically developing democratic state. He added that the democratic Russia had good prospects. "On coming to Russia, I proved to myself once again that Russians love freedom and are very enterprising people," he was quoted as saying.

Commenting on the issues faced by the Baltic states, Bildt pointed out that Sweden was very interested in their independence and dynamic development. He said Sweden did its best to help these young states, which recently re-achieved independence, to establish international contacts, including to normalize their relations with Russia.

In his opinion, the region's two main problems were Russian troops remaining in Latvia and Estonia and the observance of the rights of the Russian-speaking population of those countries. "The situation with human rights there requires much patience. The Baltic states must do more in this direction, and their efforts will be rewarded," he concluded.

Meets Russia's Choice Representatives

LD2911212893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Russia should not be considered as a Third-World developing country, Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt said.

Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the election bloc Russia's Choice in Moscow on Monday, Bildt said that Russia can attract capital and investments because it is an excellent country for the development of any relations, including in trade and culture.

The democratic movement cannot develop without contradictions. Therefore the contradictions which exist in Russia should not be viewed as alarming, he said.

Asked about his attitude towards the "socialist idea in West- European understanding," Carl Bildt, who is also the chairman of the International Democratic Union, replied that Sweden is living in the post-socialist era. The people who used to wave red flags in Sweden have hidden them now. He believes the socialist idea has great flaws, including the negation of the role of civic society, private property and free market. All Europe recognises that development is impossible without these categories, he stressed.

More Meetings With Politicians

LD2911213093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1807 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt met with Russian politicians and candidates to the new parliament to discuss the role of democracy in Russia and the world.

Bildt said his visit to Moscow aims at strengthening cooperation between democratic movements in the world and in Russia.

He pointed out that what is going on in Russia has importance not only for Russia but other countries as well. The barriers are falling down and the countries are building relations which dramatically differ from former confrontation. These relations should spread on to politicians and parties, he said.

Gennadiy Burbulis, head of the socio-political centre strategy, at whose invitation Bildt is in Moscow, said that no Russian movement has joined the International Democratic Union yet because "there are no favorable factors for this so far." He believes such factors will appear after the December 12 elections, including democracy, stability and transformation of the Russia's Choice election bloc into a party. He said Russia will go along the path of freedom, legality and democracy, which will make it possible for it to join the International Democratic Union of which Bildt is the chairman.

Bildt Leaves for Home

LD3011110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1022 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Swedish Prime Minister and Chairman of the International Democratic Union Carl Bildt left Moscow for home today. He visited Murmansk and Moscow at the invitation of the international "Strategia" humanitarian and political studies centre. Bildt met Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and leaders of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, had consultations with representatives of other Russian political parties, and delivered a lecture to students and professors of the Moscow State International Affairs Institute.

Finnish Premier's Visit Focuses on Cooperation

PM3011105593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 3

[RIA NOVOSTI correspondent Yuriy Kupin report: "Finland Focuses Attention on St. Petersburg"]

[Excerpts] This tall, smiling, fair-haired man is known as the "Finnish Kennedy." No wonder: To become the country's prime minister at the age of 39, having previously held the post of speaker of the Finnish parliament—is this not success in a political career? He managed at the same time to find the time to gain a master's degree in political science, while having a family with three children.

This visit to Russia by Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho had a clear regional thrust. This can be judged from the skillful way the premier avoided answering questions about a solution to the problem of Russia's state debt by referring to the decisions of the Paris club and to bilateral talks. It is obvious that the problem of the state debt will be deferred indefinitely, until Russia's internal problems have been resolved and the Duma has been formed along with the new composition of the government. The problem can be addressed, rather, on a specific, regional level. In particular, this concerned the incomplete construction of the plant for the production of diesel engines which the Finnish Wartsila concern was constructing jointly with the "Russkiy Dizel" Association. At first two types of modern diesel engines for ships were to be produced under license. Incidentally, several ships have already been laid down in St. Petersburg yards to take these engines. But the plant is incomplete, although it is 90-percent ready. The Finnish side has already invested $400 million in it, while the Russian side has stopped financing it. This situation arouses legitimate concern in Georg Ehrnrooth, general director of the Metra industrial group, which today owns the former firm of Wartsila Diesel. "This plant can become a leading producer of diesel engines for both ships and motor vehicles in Europe, but we would like to know the future fate of our investments...."

Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak sees three ways to resolve the problem—by floating shares in "Russkiy Dizel," with the Metra firm becoming a coowner; by creating a joint venture with the Finns, or by asking the Council of Europe and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for new credits. The deadlock will most likely be overcome, as Sobchak's organizational activity is well known.

Finland also shows an interest in a number of long-term regional projects: the reequipping of border freight and passenger terminals, the construction of a fast highway from Moscow to St. Petersburg with an extension to Helsinki, a high-speed main railroad from St. Petersburg to Moscow, the modernization of the city's sewerage networks and water-purification installations, and the construction of the Southwestern Heat and Electric Power Station with the prospect of installing Finnish gas-purification systems and subsequently selling some of the electricity to Finland. An important element of St. Petersburg's cooperation with Finland will be the opening of the Institute of Finnish Culture, similar to those already functioning in Paris, London, and Athens. That is, "we have a vital interest in cooperation with Finland," so the mayor of St. Petersburg declared.

Although the program of the Finnish prime minister's visit was scheduled minute by minute, he still managed to find a little time for a talk. [passage omitted]

[Kupin] There is a high percentage of 40-year-old politicians in the present Russian Government, and the situation will most likely be repeated in the future. What could you wish or advise the Russian Government after the election of the State Duma at the present stage of the crisis and the reforming of Russia?

[Aho] As regards capacity for work, this is a person's most fruitful age, the peak of his physical and intellectual potential. It is generally dangerous to give advice, and it is difficult to make decisions even in your own country, not to mention another country. Now is a time when many governments are having to struggle against economic and political difficulties, and the most important thing here is to work consistently. Former Finnish President Mauno Koivisto wrote a book entitled *Incorrect Policy*. Now that I have held the post of prime minister for three years, I have realized from my own experience that a good policy is always an incorrect policy. [passage omitted]

Background to Cuban Delegation's Visit Examined

PM2911203193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Yevgeniy Bay article: "Russian Servicemen Consider the Castro Brothers Their Allies"]

[Text] Confidential Russian-Cuban military talks have been held in Moscow. Receiving the Cuban military delegation, Pavel Grachev reported his intention to visit Cuba next year.

Nothing was officially reported about the course of the talks, but, according to certain information, the main subject of the discussions was the future of the former Soviet electronic center in Havana and other locations in Cuba. This center is officially there to observe the launch

of U.S. missiles (the United States has equivalent centers for the monitoring of installations on Russia's territory in Turkey). It is also claimed that the center serves the purposes of communications between Moscow and Russian embassies in Latin America.

At the same time one of the main functions of the electronic center which is not usually mentioned is radio interception.

In November 1992 a bilateral agreement was signed in Moscow which envisaged the possibility of Russia leasing the station for the next 20 years. A year later the Cuban military returned to the subject, obviously having decided that they had "sold" the installation too cheaply. Now, according to certain information, they are insisting that Moscow pay $1 billion a year to lease the center.

These excessive demands appeared unacceptable to Moscow, and the talks ended fruitlessly. Obviously, another reason why Russia will not pay out this sum is that the Cubans are refusing to discuss seriously the problem of their foreign debt to the former USSR, which totals $30 billion.

The lack of mutual understanding between the sides is compensated for by smiles and vague promises not to leave Castro, who is experiencing a serious crisis, in the lurch. Obviously the Ministry of Defense cannot fail to understand that any rapprochement in the military sphere between Moscow and Havana will certainly evoke a sharp reaction from the United States. However, under pressure from the military-industrial complex, which is interested in retaining a number of installations in Cuba and in ensuring that the island remains a market for the sale of used military equipment (particularly since it can be sold there for sugar, which is in short supply), the Ministry of Defense is championing the idea of "staying in Cuba." The personal ties between high-ranking Russian military men and the Castro brothers also play a role here.

The question, however, is how a continued military presence (in addition to the electronic center, the Russian submarine base in Cienfuegos is still functioning) meets Russia's strategic interests. The collapse of the Cuban economy has in recent months taken on the dimensions of a natural disaster, which could not fail to affect the Army, which had remained an elite until very recently.

Military pilot Leonidas Basulto, who escaped from Cuba to the United States in a MiG-23, testifies that he made this decision after his unit received a secret circular signed by U. Rosales del Toro, chief of the Cuban General Staff. It called on all military subunits to be prepared to suppress possible popular demonstrations.

According to Basulto, chaos and poverty reign in the Army. Many servicemen have been forced to leave the Armed Forces and, in order to feed their families, are finding jobs as loaders at hotels for foreign tourists, or as mechanics. Basulto himself, a member of the Communist Party who was awarded many medals and orders for "carrying out the international mission" in Angola, was earning 415 pesos a month, which is equivalent to $7. He claims that the liberalization of hard currency on the island last August evoked most serious dissatisfaction among middle-ranking and junior officers, who do not have any channels for receiving currency from abroad.

Basulto believes that a military putsch is at present unlikely unless it comes from the top army leaders. However, in the event of the emergence of mass disorders, the army may split. The majority of officers will refuse to shoot at defenseless people, Basulto maintains.

In July the MIAMI HERALD published an article by an eminent Pentagon expert who stated that he does not see the Cuban military as "catalysts of change." "If someone offered me a bet I would say that Castro will die in office," the expert stated.

However, other analysts are inclined to believe that, irrespective of the fate of the supreme commander in chief himself, serious upheavals await Cuba in the near future. In the face of this, Russian servicemen on the island may become hostages in the war waged by Castro's regime against its own people.

Kuwaiti Defense Minister Continues Visit

Notes Possible Arms Purchases

PM3011141993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "On an Official Visit"]

[Text] Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, Kuwaiti minister of defense, arrived in Moscow on an official visit 29 November. On the same day he met with Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense. During the talks there was an exchange of opinions on a number of questions of mutual interest.

In an interview which the Kuwaiti defense minister granted to the newspaper AL-SIYASAH on the eve of his visit to Russia he declared that he would hold important talks in Moscow concerning the development of bilateral relations in the military sphere and the sphere of ensuring security, as well as the possibilities of holding joint exercises by the armies of the emirate and Russia. 'A.S. al-Salim al-Sabah also said that during his visit he will "familiarize himself with some models of military hardware and arms, particularly in the sphere of air defense." The possibility cannot be ruled out, the Kuwaiti defense minister remarked, that the emirate will buy certain types of arms from Russia in the very near future.

Semenov on Readiness for Cooperation

LD2911173193 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1530 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Moscow, 29 Nov (KUNA)—Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah arrived here today on a five-day official visit following an invitation from the Russian military leadership. [passage omitted]

General Vladimir Semenov, supreme commander of the Russian ground forces has asserted in a statement to the Kuwaiti news agency that Moscow attaches a great deal of importance to the visit of the Kuwaiti guest and considers it an important stride toward the consolidation of the two friendly countries' relations.

Semenov affirmed, furthermore, that his country was ready to meet Kuwait's defense needs at all levels and to bolster military cooperation with Kuwait, pointing out that Russia and Kuwait had enjoyed very strong relations of friendship for years. [passage omitted]

Visits Emba, To View Weaponry

LD3011110793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Kuwaiti Defence Minister 'Ali Al-Sabah currently on a visit to Russia has flown to the town of Emba in the Aktyubinsk region on Tuesday [30 November].

The Kuwaiti defence minister will visit a military test site and familiarize himself with military hardware. He is expected to return to Moscow late on Tuesday.

On Monday, the Kuwaiti defence minister and his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev signed an agreement on behalf of the governments of the two countries in the field of military cooperation.

During a five-day visit the Kuwaiti military delegation is expected to visit an Air Force garrison in Kubinka in the Moscow neighbourhood to acquaint themselves with achievements of the Russian military aircraft. During the visit prospects for military and technical cooperation will be discussed.

Leaves for Kazakhstan

LD3011162593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1409 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah left for Kazakhstan Tuesday [30 November] morning. A spokesman for the Russian Defense Ministry has told Interfax that the Kuwaiti Minister intends to observe combat launching of the anti-aircraft missiles. He returns to Moscow tonight.

The Kuwaiti Minister is to visit the military airfield Kubinka near Moscow, where he will be able to view Russian aircraft, including the new heavy-cargo helicopter. In addition, he is to meet Wednesday with Russian military leadership.

The Minister's official visit ends December 2.

Shokhin Ends Visit to United Arab Emirates

LD3011072393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0707 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu-Dhabi November 30 TASS—Deputy Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Aleksandr Shokhin ended his three-day visit to United Arab Emirates on Monday [29 November].

Shokhin briefed journalists upon completion of talks with the State Minister for Foreign Affairs Hamdan Bin Rashid Al Nuhayyan, describing his visit as "successful."

Shokhin pointed out that the sides discussed a wide range of problems for purposes of the establishment of a broad basis for mutually advantageous economic ties which might serve as an example of bilateral cooperation. The Russian vice-premier pointed out Russia's intention to step up relations with all Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

During the talks the sides exchanged opinions on cooperation in the field of investments. In a communique adopted upon completion of the meeting the sides expressed satisfaction with the development of ties between Russia and the Emirate.

The Emirate's minister for foreign affairs reiterated the Emirate's readiness to develop trade, economic cooperation and bilateral ties with Russia at all levels. He accepted an invitation to visit Russia with gratitude.

Organization Sends Congratulations to 'Arafat

LD2911145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1338 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Boris Krivoshey]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Russian Society of Solidarity and Cooperation with the Peoples of Asia and Africa has sent congratulations to Yasir 'Arafat, president of Palestine, on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Palestinians' struggle for satisfying their justified interests has been going on for many years and was connected with many sacrifices.

"But despite all the difficulties, this struggle, strikingly embodied in the heroical intifadah, brings about positive results," reads the letter of congratulations.

"The international community now unanimously recognizes a key role played by the Palestinian issue in a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and attaches great importance to the current multilateral talks on Middle East," the letter reads.

Israel cannot but take into account the legitimate rights of Palestinians. "We hope that the declaration on the principles of settlement signed by PLO and Israel will become the first step towards establishing a just and steadfast peace in the Middle East," the authors of the letter emphasize.

ECONOMIST Article on Brain Drain to Israel Cited

PM2911152593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Kirill Mikhaylov: "From Russia With Brains"]

[Text] The British weekly THE ECONOMIST has published an article under this headline about emigres from former Soviet republics who have settled in Israel. According to the magazine's data, at least 90,000 of the 440,000 former citizens of the Soviet Union who have arrived in that country recently are scientists, physicians, engineers, and people from the creative professions. Many of them now work in the high-technology sectors of Israeli industry.

Thus, THE ECONOMIST notes, people from the USSR currently comprise one-sixth of all employees in the computer software industry, which is one of the most promising sectors of the economy. At many enterprises, however, the proportion of people originating from the Union is even higher. Out of 340 workers the DSI firm, for example, employs 120 immigrants. The same number of people are employed by the Indigo company in Nes Ziyyona, where former "Soviets" have developed an ultramodern digital printing apparatus which even impressed the famous George Soros, who immediately bought 12.5 percent of the firm's shares.

Far East Border Area, China Sign Anti-Smuggling Accord

OW3011054193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1300 GMT 6 Nov 93

[Text] Russia's Far East border area and a Chinese law enforcement department have signed a cooperation agreement. The two sides have attached due importance to cracking down on smuggling and robberies in border areas. According to the agreement, border law enforcement units of the two sides will provide full support and assistance to the other in pursuing criminals on both sides of the border, and will maintain records on elements known for committing crimes. If necessary, the two sides will cooperate in pursuing criminals.

EC To Pursue Cooperation Policy Despite Banking Edict

PM2611133793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "Kremlin's Inconsistency Worries the West, but Is Not Deflecting It From Its Chosen Course"]

[Text] The predictability of the Kremlin's policy as far as foreign partners and, for that matter, as far as we ourselves are concerned is not changing for the better. Even on the threshold of unusual events for Russia, such as President Yeltsin's upcoming 9 December visit to Brussels at the invitation of the president of the European Union.

Grounds for this judgment are provided by Boris Yeltsin's recent edict "On the Activities of Foreign Banks and Joint Banks Involving the Funds of Those Not Resident on the Territory of the Russian Federation." The gist of it is that foreign and joint banks are prohibited from working with Russian residents until January 1996, unless they started to do so before 15 November this year. Apparently, only two fall into the latter category, while 10 or so are affected by the edict.

The edict came out at the exact moment when the 18-month process of very difficult negotiations between Russia and the EC (now the EU) on the establishment of a fundamentally new relationship in the economic and political spheres, which will be enshrined in the treaty on partnership and cooperation which is being prepared for signing, had basically been completed.

An accord was also finally reached in the sphere of foreign banks' activities in Russia by means of a very complex process of dovetailing, coordination, and mutual concessions. Under it, in order to protect Russian banks that have not yet established themselves, certain restrictions were introduced for a period of five years affecting EC banks after they had been instituted on the basis of most-favored status. The restrictions applied to the number of bank branches in Russia and the size of the minimum contribution. They were also prohibited from acting as agents in transactions involving privatization checks. But these exceptions did not extend to joint banks where Russian capital was involved. Now the compromise that was reached has been canceled by a flourish of the presidential pen.

"We realize, of course, that there are elections in the offing in Russia and a group of commercial banks had been lobbying the president's entourage for this decision," Mrs. Ladiy [name as transliterated], chief representative of the French Credit Lyonnais bank in Moscow, told me. "Although this edict spared us personally, we are in solidarity with the other foreign banks, since the inconsistent Russian policy in this sphere is worrying and disheartening. After all, Russia already has its own banks that are very close to international standards and they need not fear competition. But Western

banks, in turn, need Russian partners, without which they will find it difficult to work here. And, of course, this policy does not make the best possible impression on potential foreign investors."

Naturally, the presidential edict occasioned misinterpretations and misrepresentations both in the Western press and in ours. According to the French newspaper LES ECHOS, the edict could cause extra problems at the negotiations between the EC and the Russian Federation. According to the newspaper's information, Boris Yeltsin is allegedly threatening not to go to Brussels on 9 December unless the text of the treaty is ready by then.

I do not think this will happen, though. According to information obtained on 25 November from reliable sources in the Russian Federation Government and the EC Commission, active preparations are under way for Yeltsin's visit. As was agreed in Moscow on 11 November during a meeting between the Russian leadership and Belgian Prime Minister J.-L. Dehaene and EC Commission President Jacques Delors, the sides are to sign a declaration of intent in Brussels, which will set out the treaty's basic stance on partnership, since it is not possible to complete all the work on the document enabling it to be signed before the end of the year. But in recent days both sides further decided to try to get the treaty text initialed on 9 December.

All this means that, despite skeptical comments about the possible consequences of Yeltsin's edict on foreign banks, Moscow's unexpected actions are not deflecting our partners in West Europe from the chosen course of cooperation with Russia. They appear to have acquired a pretty good appreciation of the nature of Russian reality. And this is nothing if not heartening.

UN Helping To Formulate New Legislation

LD3011094093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0814 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations November 30 TASS—The United Nations Organisation has begun helping the Russian Federation to elaborate a new Russian legislation, says a report released on Monday [29 November] at the U.N. Headquarters here.

The U.N. Human Rights Centre, the document notes, is getting down to the implementation of a programme for cooperation with the Russian Federation on the basis of an agreement, concluded in New York on November 19. It was signed by U.N. Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights Ibrahima Faal and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. The agreement envisages various measures that are to be implemented within the next two years.

The report points out that the main elements of the programme include aid which is to be rendered by the U.N. Human Rights Centre to Russia in the elaboration of bills for a new legislation such, for instance, as bills on the emergency situation and on free movement across the Russian Federation, as well as on federal security bodies.

It also notes that the agreement envisages the setting up of courses to teach human rights and humanitarian law to MPs, state officials, policemen, judges and army personnel. Moreover, the programme stipulates direct aid to independent non-governmental organisations, coming out in behalf of human rights.

The programme will be financed from the U.N. Voluntary Fund for Technical Assistance in the Sphere of Human Rights. The U.N. Human Rights Centre has already rendered consultative assistance to the Russian Federation in its efforts to draw up a draft law on foreigners and a bill on citizenship, the report says.

Political Issues

Gaydar Says No Government Plans To Resign

LD2911142793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Russian Government has no plans to resign after the elections on December 12, but the final say will belong to the president, Russian Vice-Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said.

Speaking at a meeting with mass media representatives at the house of the press in Moscow on Monday [29 November], Gaydar said that the policy pursued by the government in November has helped bring inflation down to about 15-16 per cent, according to preliminary estimates.

He said the government will be able to keep it at this level in December to push it further down in the first quarter of 1994.

Further on Government Plans

LD2911171093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1628 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The Russian Government has no plans to resign after the elections on December 12, but the final say will belong to the president, Russian Vice-prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said.

Speaking at a meeting with mass media representatives at the House of the Press in Moscow on Monday, Gaydar said that the policy pursued by the government in November has helped bring inflation down to about 15-16 per cent, according to preliminary estimates.

He said the government will be able to keep it at this level in December to push it further down in the first quarter of 1994.

Gaydar, who is also leader of the Russia's choice election bloc, said the draft constitution submitted to the nationwide referendum has "many flaws," but if it is not adopted on December 12, "Russia will never adopt a constitution and it will be impossible to restore order in the country."

Asked about why Russia's Choice receives so little coverage in the press and mass media, Gaydar said that "everything is going within the framework of law." The bloc is using both free and commercial channels to explain its election platform. Gaydar and his colleagues plan to take part in live television debates within the next few days.

He denied accusations by the opposition that "Gaydar is seeking to get into the parliament in order to adopt such laws which would be easy to carry out or by-pass." Gaydar stressed that his work in the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's new parliament, will depend not on his post in the executive branch, but on his personal vision of the country's future, the urgent tasks facing it and its real interests.

A victory of reactionary forces in Russia is still possible, the vice-premier warned. Speaking about the October revolt, Gaydar pointed out that "the danger was very serious." "Reactionary forces" which failed in October have already recovered from the first shock and have launched an open offensive using every possible means. "They are using the old Nazi method—the more horrible the lie is, the sooner people will believe it."

He described as a lie statements saying that supporters of democracy who gathered in front of the Moscow city council and the White House on the night of October 4 to stand against the mutineers received money remunerations.

Gaydar said he will file a law suit against the authors of these statements, but after the elections. He expressed the hope that he will win the case.

Gaydar Views Current Political, Economic Problems

LD2911210393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1715 GMT 29 Nov 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov—Yegor Gaydar, first vice premier of Russia's Government, today informed representatives of the regional and central mass media about the Russian Government's immediate plans and the stand taken by the "Russia's Choice" election bloc, at a meeting which took place at the House of the Press today.

Commenting on the results of his recent trip to the mining regions of Russia to have talks with the leaders of the miners' trade unions of Vorkuta, Kemerovo, and Kuzbass, Yegor Gaydar termed as "a myth" the argument that the miners are allegedly extracting additional funding from the Government by strong-arm methods of striking. According to him, the subject dealt with at the talks was the program for reconstruction of the sector, the rights of the independent trade unions, tariffs on the rail transportation of coal, and the paying of wages on time. Yegor Gaydar stressed that the state "cannot satisfy the interests of one social group at the expense of another," therefore the miners have not been promised any "big additional amounts of money."

The first vice premier noted that the trade union leaders of the Kuzbass and Vorkuta have expressed willingness to conduct a new round of talks with the government on a tariff agreement, so that "it should reflect not only the short-term interests of providing wages, but also the long-term interests of maintaining the industry's competitiveness." According to him, "a completely normal basis for further work" was achieved.

Yegor Gaydar said that the government commission is continuing talks in Moscow with the miners, and he voiced the hope that the miners' strike planned for 1 December "will be successfully averted."

Touching on the problem of revenue to the federal budget, the first vice premier said that approximately three-quarters of it came out of "ordinary" tax and the so-called "inflation tax" which was raised by means of the constant growth in prices. He voiced concern over the fact that representatives of commercial intermediary and large financial structures are escaping the second kind of tax without difficulty. Therefore, according to Gaydar, the government's main task—the elimination of inflation—which it will consistently carry out in the future will lead to "the fair and equal taxation of all sectors of the economy."

According to Yegor Gaydar, the policy conducted by the government in November led to this month's level of inflation being successfully lowered to 15-16 percent, according to preliminary calculations. The first vice premier said that the Russian Government will be able to keep inflation at the same level in December and then knock it below 15 percent in the first quarter of the new year.

Analyzing the political situation which has taken shape in Russia, Yegor Gaydar informed those gathered about the present government's intention to continue its work after 12 December, the day of the nationwide referendum on the draft new constitution which substantially alters the powers, the procedures for the formation, and the accountability of the Russian Cabinet of Ministers. True, the first vice premier added, the last word in deciding the fate of the present government will naturally be that of the president.

Yegor Gaydar, leader of the "Russia's Choice" election bloc, noted that the draft constitution being put to the referendum contains "numerous shortcomings," but in his opinion, if it is not approved on 12 December, "Russia will never adopt a constitution and it will be impossible to bring order to the country."

Answering the question of why "Russia's Choice" is obviously inadequately represented on the mass media during the election campaign, Yegor Gaydar noted that "everything is taking place within the framework of the law"; the bloc is fully using the free and commercial channels to explain its election manifesto. The "Russia's Choice" leader stated that in the next few days he and his colleagues in the bloc will appear on central television during the election debates.

Rejecting attacks by his political opponents who make claims along the lines of: "Gaydar, it would seem, wants to get into parliament in order to pass the kind of laws that someone acting in the capacity of a member of the Cabinet of Ministers would find convenient to implement or circumvent," the first vice premier stressed that his work in the State Duma will be determined not by the sort of official seat he occupied in executive bodies, but solely by his vision of Russia's future and its urgent problems and true interests.

In Yegor Gaydar's opinion, a victory in the country by reactionary forces is still a possibility. He drew particular attention to the reality of a successful armed "communist-fascist coup" on the night of 3-4 October. "The threat was very serious," the vice premier said. He testified to the fact that, having suffered a fiasco at the start of October, the "reactionary forces" have already recovered from the initial shock and have openly gone onto the offensive without balking at the use of the most obnoxious means. "The old fascist method is being used—the more monstrous the lie, the quicker people are to believe it," Yegor Gaydar explained, commenting on a number of statements by rivals to "Russia's Choice." In particular, he said that claims that the supporters of democracy who assembled on the night of 3-4 October in front of the Moscow City Council and on Pushkin Square to repel the armed rebellion were paid a monetary remuneration were a lie.

Yegor Gaydar reported his intention to demand a judicial investigation in this connection—but after the elections to the Federal Assembly. The first vice premier voiced his unshakeable conviction that he and his supporters could not fail to win this process.

Does Not Want To Head Government

MK3011102093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 85, 30 Nov 93 (signed to press 29 Nov) p 2

[Dmitriy Volkov report under the "Elections" rubric: "'Russia's Choice' Leader Does Not Want To Head Government. Voters Perceive Gaydar Mainly as Minister"]

[Text] Yegor Gaydar, leader of the "Russia's Choice" bloc, said yesterday at a meeting with the provincial press that he does not want to hold the post of Russian prime minister again. "Only a masochist could have a wish like this, if he held this office already in 1992," Mr. Gaydar said. At the same time, the "Russia's Choice" leader expressed his hope that the elections for the new parliament would produce "a responsible majority in the State Duma," which would open up an opportunity to hold inflation in January down to less than 15 percent a month. According to Gaydar, the monthly inflation rate will be 15-16 percent by year's end.

Yegor Gaydar noted that one of the strongest trump cards of opponents of "Russia's Choice" was the government's debt to grain producers. He said that last week the Agricultural Bank was given 38.6 billion rubles to pay for beneficial credits, and this week extra money would be appropriated to the regions for grain purchases. However, the practice of government purchases in itself, Mr. Gaydar said, was introduced under strong pressure from the agrarian lobby and would be reviewed despite attempts "to reproduce the situation" next year. In 1993, "the state spent 2 trillion rubles to buy grain that could not be sold at exchanges at these prices, but nonetheless we did not manage to pay for everything." At the same

time, Gaydar said, the government is intent on defending Russia's food market by moderate protectionist tariffs, the introduction of which will be considered in mid-December.

As he answered questions by representatives of the provincial press, most of whom sympathized with "Russia's Choice," he acted more as a deputy prime minister than as a political bloc leader. He warned, however, that he would not use his government office for reasons of political expediency. In his words, if the government "had given away all the money," the exchange rate "would have collapsed by the end of December," and prices would have shot through the roof not earlier than January—that is, after the elections. The bloc, however, "categorically opposes embarking on this path." Hence, Yegor Gaydar is not inclined to see concessions to the agrarian lobby and the extracting industries as a tool of electoral struggle.

Comments on Coal Miners' Strike

LD2911152193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar predicted that there would be no more coal miners' strikes in the country after his visits to two major coal regions of Russia.

Gaydar said he was satisfied with his talks in Vorkuta and Kemerovo and told reporters on Monday that "miners' strikes in Russia will not continue".

He denied claims that miners are resorting to power methods to hammer out additional finances from the government. "The talks focused on restructuring the industry, revision of tariffs, on timely payments for all settlements", Gaydar said, adding that the government had not promised any extra finances to calm down the miners who planned a strike.

On Tuesday Gaydar will fly to brief Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on the results of his talks. Chernomyrdin is currently on vacation in the elite resort of Valday in Novgorod region.

Miners Maintain Tough Line in Talks With Government

MK3011100093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 85, 30 Nov 93 (Signed to press 29 Nov) p 1

[Andrey Nikolayev report under the "Heat" rubric: "The Government Has Been Driven Into a Coal. [pun on Russian ugol—corner, and ugol'—coal] The Miners Appreciate the Council of Ministers Loyalty But So Far Refuse To Call Off the Strike"]

[Text] The executive committee of the Russian Independent Miners Trade Union [IMTU] has passed a resolution approving the IMTU demands on the government, and recommended to its representatives at the talks to "adhere to the priorities adopted by the executive committee." The next point of the resolution confirms the earlier decision to hold a three-day miners strike as of 1 December. The executive committee members thereby indicated to the government that the trade union, on one hand, prefers the negotiating process that is under way in Moscow, and on the other, intends to press its demands, resorting even to such an extreme measure as a strike.

The impression is that the IMTU closely links the results of the talks with going ahead with a general strike. "It may not be held at all," Vyacheslav Sharipov, IMTU chairman said, noting that it is hard to predict the outcome of the talks. Eduard Kinstler, chairman of the IMTU headquarters for coordinating collective actions, also said that "should the conflict be resolved, the headquarters will be instructed to suspend the collective actions campaign." According to him, however, the suspension of the strike is possible only if the government, considering the IMTU's demands, takes a constructive position. "It must not only agree with the miners' demands but also specify the time frame for their execution," Mr. Kinstler said.

Clearly the main obstacle at the talks will be the so-called "black list" which includes the leaders of various ranks for whose resignation the miners are pressing. For instance, the IMTU is demanding the removal of Yuriy Shafranik, Russian Federation fuel and energy minister; his first deputy Andrey Yevtushenko; and Yuriy Malyshev, chairman of the Rosugol state company, "for bringing about a collapse of the coal industry, failure to take effective measures to maintain the interests of the coal miners, and gross violation of the tariff agreement." Furthermore, the miners are also urging the dismissal of Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets and Labor Minister Gennadiy Melikyan for "gross violation of the Russian Federation Labor Law Code and other Russian Federation laws, in particular the law On Collective Agreements and Contracts, and the Russian president's edict "On Professional Unions in the Context of the Transition to Market Relations." They also insist on punishment being meted out to Vladimir Shumeyko "for failing to take measures to ensure the implementation of the tariff agreement."

It is hardly likely that all the IMTU's demands, including the "black list," will be coordinated at the talks, especially with concrete time frames being specified. It needs to be borne in mind that among approximately 30 main demands on the government some are more and some are less characteristic of a particular region. Whereas, for instance, according to Vyacheslav Sharipov, chairman of the Kuzbass Independent Miners Trade Union, it is vital for his region to address the issue of railway tariffs, for Vorkuta and Norilsk, in the opinion of Valentin Vilyuk, a member of the Trade Union Federation Council at the Norilsk enrichment and metallurgical plant, next year's

federal budget must provide for spending to enforce the law "On State Guarantees and Compensations for People Working and Living in the Upper North and Similar Areas." In this context it is not ruled out that the regions, depending on the degree of coordination over a particular demand, may at the last moment take a different attitude to the strike set for 1 December.

At the same time, one should not discount the miners' solidarity and the authority that the IMTU has in the mining regions. "If all primary cells of our trade union take part in the strike," IMTU First Deputy Chairman Sultan Mamedov said, then for three days approximately 90 coal mines and 18 pits will be stopped." Meanwhile First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, who heads the commission on problems of the coal producing industries, said yesterday that the government did not promise the miners "big money" and will be "seeking to implement its financial obligations, but not at the expense of other social groups." He also said that the IMTU is ready for a new round of talks on the tariff agreement which would allow the use of funds to modernize the industry and not just "spend everything on wages."

Yeltsin Decrees Paying Gold Miners in Hard Currency

LD2911192593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1835 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—With the aim of creating favorable conditions for increasing the extraction of gold and silver, and the development of the mining industry, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree allowing to pay mining enterprises up to 40 per cent of the extracted gold in hard currency provided these financial resources are used for the repayment of credits in foreign currency attracted for developing gold and silver deposits and paying dividends to foreign investors, the Russian president's press service reported on Monday [29 November].

Shokhin Denies Foreign Debt Powers Passed to Fedorov

LD3011134493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1312 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin denied reports that his powers to negotiate Russian foreign debt had been transferred to Finance Minister Boris Fedorov, but criticised Fedorov for "personal ambitions" for fostering such plans.

"A corresponding document has not been issued", Shokhin told a press conference on Tuesday [30 November] commenting on mass media reports that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin had okayed the transfer of his powers regarding talks with the G-7 and foreign debt issues to Fedorov.

"The desire of Boris Fedorov to get that section of the work is very clear", he stressed and qualified it not as an echo of election campaign, but as "personal ambitions" of the finance minister.

Shokhin and Fedorov are running for parliament in different election blocs.

Shokhin stressed that statements on the transfer of his powers "are groundless and are in no way connected with a change in the Russian position at talks with international financial organisations and with the London Club, in particular".

He recommended that Fedorov "concentrates on the struggle with inflation and the budget deficit" rather than try to take over new powers.

Council of Ministers' Commission Session Postponed

LD3011111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—The session of the Russian Council of Ministers' commission for operational issues planned for today has been put off until tomorrow. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told of this in the secratariat of First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets.

The session was postponed because Oleg Soskovets is having a meeting today with Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, who is on vacation in the Valday area.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned that the meeting intends to discuss the problems of the functioning of the economy and, in particular, the work of the federation's fuel and energy complex .

The commission will discuss, in particular, the issue of urgent measures for stabilzing the work of enterprises involved in tractor and agricultural machinery construction.

Government Decisions on Missiles, Crops, Courts Outlined

PM2911152593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From the Government's Work Desk"]

[Excerpt] Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed the decree "On Making Changes and Additions to the Statute on the Procedure for Controlling Exports from the Russian Federation of Equipment, Materials, and Technologies Used in the Creation of Missile Weapons." The statute provides for a package of measures to control exports (transfer or exchange) of finished missile systems (ballistic missiles, spacecraft carrier rockets, and research

rockets), unmanned aircraft (cruise missiles, radio-controlled target aircraft, and radio-controlled reconnaissance aircraft), equipment, materials, and technologies which can be used in their creation, as well as special equipment designed for the preparation and launch of the said missiles and craft. Exports are controlled for the purpose of countering the proliferation of rocket equipment and technologies which might contribute to the creation or acquisition of missile systems capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction, as well as the creation or acquisition of production capacities for such systems. Control embraces all kinds of foreign economic activity (except imports), including production and scientific-technical ties, coastal and border trade, commodity exchange operations, and the showing of exhibits at international exhibitions and fairs.

In accordance with the Russian Federation president's edict "On Regulating Land Relations and Developing Agrarian Reform in Russia" and also for the purpose of surmounting the consequences of this year's unfavorable weather conditions and ensuring the stable work of agriculture next year, the Russian Federation Government has adopted the decree "On Measures of State Support for the Agro-Industrial Complex in 1993-1994." Before the end of this year the Russian Ministry of Finance is entrusted with ensuring the maximum clearing of debts in respect of funding the agrarian complex and, jointly with the Central Bank, finding the necessary financial and credit funds to clear the procurement workers' debts in terms of oil-bearing crop grain and seed actually delivered to state resources by agricultural commodity producers in 1993. In addition, in the fourth quarter of this year and the first half of 1994 provision is made for additional compensation to be paid out of the Russian Federation budget to rural producers whose farms have been affected by drought and other natural disasters in the present season to the tune of 50 percent of the costs of transporting feed from other farms.

A corresponding government decree approves the "Statute on the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice." It follows from the document that the Ministry of Justice, in addition to its traditional functions, is henceforth entrusted with tasks such as organizational and legal support for judicial reform, state registration (our newspaper is entrusted with publishing the results of this activity) of the normative acts of central organs of the federal executive, and participation in the international legal protection of citizens' rights and legitimate interests. On the instructions of the Russian Federation president the Ministry of Justice also participates in an expert appraisal of Russian Federation laws sent to it for signing. [passage omitted]

Assembly Apparatus Provisional Statute Ratified

PM3011100193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

["Russian Federation President Directive on Provisional Statute on Russian Federation Federal Assembly Apparatus and Its Provisional Structure"]

[Text] In execution of the Russian Federation president's 8 October 1993 edict no. 1614 "on the apparatus of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly":

1. Approve the provisional statute on the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus and its provisional structure (appended).

2. The provisional statute on the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus operates until the Federation Council and State Duma adopt the relevant normative acts.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, Moscow, Kremlin, 24 November 1993 No. 747-rp

The Russian Federation president's 24 November 1993 directive no. 747-rp has approved the provisional statute on the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus.

1. This statute establishes the tasks and procedure for the activity of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus and operates until the Federation Council and State Duma adopt the relevant normative acts.

2. The main task of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Apparatus is preparing for the start of the work of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly and backing up its activity.

3. To implement these tasks the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus:

implements preparation of draft documents to back up the work of the federation Council and State Duma;

collaborates with the Russian Federation president's Administration, the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, and other federal organs of power;

ensures the logging and systematizing of legal acts, draft laws, and other documents of the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet;

recruits, trains, and certifies employees of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

4. The Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus includes the following subdivisions:

Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council Secretariat;

Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma Secretariat;

Technological information support administration;

Secretariat of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus leader;

Cadres Department;

Economic section;

Press service;

Development service.

5. The Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus is headed by the leader of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus.

The leader of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus has three deputies.

6. The leader of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Apparatus:

coordinates the activity of subdivisions of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus;

approves the structure and permanent staff of the subdivisions belonging to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus;

appoints and dismisses workers of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus within the established procedure;

issues directives on questions of the activity of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly apparatus which are binding for apparatus workers.

Sliva on Parliament's Status, Candidates' Duty

PM3011112393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by A. Sliva, deputy chief of the Russian Federation president's State Legal Administration: "Following the Document's Logic"]

[Text] The "Statute on Federal Organs of Power in the Transitional Period" ratified by Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1400 of 21 September 1993 is an act defining the legal position of the Federal Assembly chambers, elections for which will be held 12 December 1993. The functions and powers of the Federation Council and State Duma laid down by this statute are, in the main, identical to the functions and powers of the Federal Assembly under the draft Russian Federation Constitution (Articles 94-109) that is being put to a referendum.

The fact that electoral associations and individual candidates are taking part in the parliamentary elections means that they accept the obligation to voters to follow both the "Statute on Federal Organs of Power in the Transitional Period" and the corresponding articles on parliament in the draft Constitution.

In the light of electoral associations' and individual candidates' recognition of the legal status of the Federation Council and State Duma the collection of signatures in support of the corresponding associations and candidates has been permitted and their registration the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has been carried out. The written consent of candidates to run for one of the Federal Assembly chambers constitutes official confirmation of their acceptance of both the procedure for the elections and the basic operating provisions of the organ for which the candidate is running.

Undergoing official registration following the collection of signatures, electoral associations and candidates thereby came under a self-imposed restriction on their right to denounce the new Constitution to voters as far as the status of the future parliament is concerned. But political parties and other associations, as well as individual citizens, still have the right to campaign against the draft Constitution, including the articles on parliament. As for electoral associations and candidate deputies, they can exercise this right on condition that they cancel the registration of their associations and candidates at the Central Electoral Commission.

Hence it follows that the calls from officially registered electoral associations and individual candidates to vote on the whole against the draft Constitution, including Articles 94-109 (Chapter 5. The Federal Assembly) and other articles of the draft concerning the future parliament's status are **aimed to all intents and purposes at distorting the voters' will as expressed by them during the collection of signatures** and essentially amount to a public refusal by the associations or candidates to run for the Federation Council or State Duma. Moreover, such a denial by candidates of their adopted commitments can be viewed as an outright deception of the voters.

Constitutional Court Dispute Over Zorkin Viewed

PM3011115793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Stas Stremidlovskiy: "Peacemakers Have Squabbled"]

[Text] A storm is brewing over the Russian Federation Constitutional Court. A heavy atmosphere of mutual hostility has been hanging over the Constitutional Court since October when court chairman Valeriy Zorkin resigned in scandalous circumstances. The same atmosphere prevailed yesterday, on the day he returned to work after an illness.

He has been moved from his office on the fourth floor to a badly appointed office on the third floor. Zorkin's books and other effects are lying on the desks—there are no cupboards in his new premises...

On that day your correspondent managed to talk with Nikolay Vitruk, acting chairman of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court. "I am completely surprised that Zorkin could come here after everything," he stated. "I was his friend for 10 years but now I cannot see him and will not shake hands with him." As long as Zorkin is a member of the Constitutional Court there will be no court, Nikolay Vitruk stated unequivocally.

But that is a pity. It is a pity that the Constitutional Court is essentially collapsing. It is a pity that hostility among the judges is reaching the point of absurdity. All

this is reminiscent of a kindergarten, but the Constitutional Court is not a playground.

Election Issues

Yeltsin Confirms Instruction on Election Aid Distribution

LD2911174193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has confirmed the instruction "On work to coordinate and monitor the distribution of foreign aid allocated to Russia for the organization and holding of elections to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation."

The instruction envisages setting up, under the Central Electoral Committee for parliamentary elections, a working Group to coordinate and monitor the distribution of foreign aid allocated to Russia for the organization and holding of elections. The working group will include representatives of the Central Electoral Commission, the Russian Foreign Ministry, the Russian State Customs' Committee, the Commission for International Humanitarian and Technical Assistance under the Russian Government, and the Russian Foreign Trade Bank.

The president has charged the working group with determining the needs and priorities of Russia in foreign assistance, the collection and generalization of information on foreign donors, and the volume of funds allocated by them, drawing up lists of Russian recipients of financing, materials, and equipment coming in from abroad, monitoring the correct distribution of foreign aid to exclude abuse, the preparation of information reports relating to the use of foreign aid, and other issues regarding the receipt and distribution of foreign aid.

Endorses Measures on Foreign Aid

LD2911172893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1702 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin has endorsed an instruction "On measures to coordinate and exercise control over the distribution of foreign aid provided to Russia for organising and holding elections to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation," the press service of the Russian president reported on Monday.

The instruction provides for the establishment of a working group under the Central Electoral Commission in charge of elections to the State Duma and the Federal Assembly which will coordinate and exercise control over the distribution of foreign aid provided to Russia for organising and holding the elections.

The working group will consist of representatives of the Central Electoral Commission, the Russian Foreign Ministry, the Russian State Customs Committee, the Commission for International Humanitarian and Technical Assistance under the Russian Government, and the Russian Foreign Economic Bank.

Ryabov Says Funds To Be Tax Exempt

LD2911161893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1416 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The funds spent by election commissions and alliances for election purposes are to be exempt from income tax and VAT, Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Election Commission [CEC], said at the end of a meeting with President Yeltsin on Monday [29 November]. The issue, he said, was raised by Yeltsin himself.

Ryabov said the commission would submit an appropriate draft decree to Yeltsin on Tuesday.

The commission has decided to opt out of a live TV marathon show, Government-94, to be broadcast from the Kremlin Palace overnight on December 13, Ryabov told INTERFAX.

Last week, Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy Kremlin chief of staff, and Mikhail Poltoranin, chief of the Federal Information Center, made a formal request to the commission to participate in the TV show, offering to install communications between the Kremlin Palace and the CEC headquarters.

Ryabov said the commission was not entitled to disclose any information of a "preliminary nature" which may be at variance with final voting results. "We have no right to confuse the public," he said, adding that the government was of the same opinion. "No information, even preliminary, will be provided for show organizers," Ryabov stressed.

Analyst Views Yeltsin's Stance on Elections

LD3011123093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The canvassing campaign in Russia has grown very acute and sometimes even rough on the eve of the elections to the Federal Assembly. However, nobody had expected it to be otherwise, considering the unprecedentedly large number of parties and blocs taking part in the election campaign—13 in all. Moreover, the campaign is proceeding parallel with preparations for the nation-wide referendum on the draft of the new Russian constitution, which is to open up prospects for stable democratic development before the country.

Of course, the outcome of the elections would be largely determined if Boris Yeltsin, who enjoys the faith of most of the population, was to side with one of the parties or blocs. As a matter of fact, the "Russia's Choice" leaders have declared from the very outset that it was "the

president's party", obviously referring not only to their pro-presidential stand, but hoping that Yeltsin would agree to personally head this election bloc. However, the president's decided differently and in the only correct way: he refused to side with any bloc or party, and has assumed the role of guarantor of democratic and pluralistic elections, so unaccustomary for Russians, who lack the know-how of civilised political campaigning. This was not an easy decision for him, it appears, because his leanings are quite obvious. But the president has himself admitted that he would not reveal his likings even if he had them.

However, the latest developments have shown that in spite of all this Yeltsin does not intend to remain indifferent to the course of the public debate, conducted by party and bloc leaders. The president has reacted promptly after Stanislav Govorukhin and Nikolay Travkin of the Democratic Party and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy of the Liberal-Democratic party, according to a ruling of the elections arbitration court of information, had committed some "gross violations of legal and ethic norms of canvassing in their TV statements" by recalling that free of charge TV air was granted to parties and blocs in accordance with his decree on equal informational opportunities, and that it was given them to outline their programmes. The head of state asked the candidates not to deviate from the subject, and "not to touch on the constitution during their time on the air".

It is symptomatic that people who were from the very outset intending to whip up the confrontation have qualified this request of the president as something short of an encroachment on democracy, on the freedom of speech, although Yeltsin had obviously referred only to the free of charge air on the state-run television. Of course, nobody can prevent the parties from expressing their views on the draft constitution and from criticising its shortcomings.

There is nothing wrong in criticising various propositions of the constitution. Moreover, contrary to the claims of the leaders of some blocs, they may be eventually amended by the Federal Assembly. The main thing is to adopt the basic law during the December 12 referendum, otherwise the country will again be faced with the danger of a political confrontation, because in that case the old constitution of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic will remain in force, perpetuating thereby the disastrous dual power, which had triggered the October 3-4 tragedy.

As a matter of fact, that constitution does not envisage any such body as the federal assembly, in which the current candidates are endeavouring to win seats. The limits of the legitimacy of the future parliament are fixed by the presidential decree of September 21 and the statute of the federal organs of power supplemented to it. It is strange that the opposition, which is coming out against the president and urging the voters to say "no" at the referendum, prefers to live in accordance with his decrees and not under a constitution, which was, as a matter of fact, drawn up with their direct participation, too.

The constitution is not simply Yeltsin's "favourite child", but it gives him a real chance to fulfil his promise, namely to go over to the building of a democratic society in Russia. Very promising in this light is his statement that "we shall fight for the constitution", made during a recent meeting with leaders of parties and blocs taking part in the elections.

Shakhray To Quit if Party Misses Threshold

MK3011095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 85, 30 Nov 93 (signed to press 29 Nov) p 2

[Natalya Gorodetskaya report under the "Agitation" rubric: "Sergey Shakhray Intends To Resign If the Party of Russian Unity and Accord Fails To Get 5 Percent of the Votes"]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRES], is confident that the "composition of the future parliament will be complicated." Speaking at a meeting with Altay Kray administration leaders in Barnaul on 27 November, he declared that the electoral political blocs would necessarily break up as the State Duma goes to work, and that parliamentarians would be forming groups depending on what question is on the agenda.

In Mr. Shakhray's opinion, the PRES is simply necessary in the Duma because it alone, as a party of the regions, would be able to reach compromises, for example with the communists, and insure accord. If the PRES fails to clear the 5-percent barrier, the vice premier told the journalists in a news briefing after the meeting, he would quit all his government positions.

According to the PRES leader, the party is now ready to work in the Duma and intends to propose to deputies for discussion a draft Civil Code, a package of laws on local government, and a package of laws on combating crime that have already been drawn up. To exclude the influence of video cameras on "speakers' psyches," the PRES intends to raise the question of banning live transmissions of parliament sessions on television.

Sergey Shakhray also thinks that who the members of the future parliament are is not especially important. The important thing now, he thinks, is to pass a new constitution on 12 December, and only after "baby takes its first breath" would the parents—inhabitants of Russia—be able to go about their duties to develop it. Should the draft constitution not be approved, the vice premier underlined, in an interview to a POSTFACTUM news agency correspondent, the State Duma and the Federal Assembly would completely lose their legitimacy. The only legitimate bodies of power would then remain the president and the Russian Federation Government, whereas the newly elected deputies would more likely than not form a constitutional assembly to pass a new

constitution. Sergey Shakhray noted that this "would not be treating the voters honestly."

Soskovets Views Possible Amendments to Constitution

LD2911142693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] If after the adoption of a new Russian constitution at the referendum on 12 December any fairly serious problems, contradictions, or flaws are discovered in its text, the legal possibility exists for making amendments to it through a presidential decree. This was the opinion voiced today by Oleg Soskovets, the government's first deputy prime minister, at a regional conference on preparations for the referendum on Russia's draft constitution. He dwelt in detail on the arguments regarding the concept of sovereignty. Those who are raising them, Soskovets noted, are the Russian people, and not the peoples of individual republics and other constituent entities of the Russian Federation.

The absence of the concept of sovereignty on the part of the primary constituent entities of the Federation, Oleg Soskovets believes, means that legitimate secession from Russia is impossible. This is extremely important, since before the events of September- October a great danger existed that a whole number of regions and territories might begin practical steps towards secession from the Russian Federation. Based on the new draft, Oleg Soskovets stressed, such a possibility does not exist, and this strengthens Russian statehood.

Filatov Deems Adopting Constitution 'Important Task'

LD2911172593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1548 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—"There is no more important task than the adoption of the new Constitution in the referendum on December 12," Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, said.

Speaking at a meeting with regional mass media representatives in Moscow on Monday, Filatov stressed that if the Constitution is not adopted, the new parliament will continue work on the draft fundamental law. Additionally, a powerful political confrontation may emerge which may lead to new tragic events. "our society needs legal protection from the insane and insanity which we have gone through," Filatov said.

At the same time he admitted that letters from people show that "only a few have read the Constitution." "We have begun explaining it without driving its essence home to the people," Filatov noted. He said the opposition is using people's lack of knowledge for disinformation. He said there were plans to print as many copies of the Constitution as is necessary to provide every family with at least one copy. But this would require five billion roubles. Therefore radio and television should be used to the maximum, he said.

Speaking about the differences between the existing Constitution and the new one, Filatov denounced statements by some opposition candidates claiming that the adoption of the Constitution by the referendum would make it impossible to make any corrections to it in the future. He admitted, however, that changes in the first two chapters of the Constitution—Constitutional system and human and civil rights— could be made only by the Constitutional Assembly. The Assembly may make changes itself or submit them to a nation-wide referendum. Other chapters can be changed in accordance with the established procedure.

When Communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov and Grigoriy yavlinskiy's bloc say that the Constitution should not be adopted by the referendum, they confirm their ideology according to which people cannot govern on their own, but only through special bodies, Filatov said.

He brushed off as groundless speculations that the Constitution would bring dictatorship to the country. The document provides for clear-cut delineation of powers between legislative and executive branches. Moreover, it will not grant the president more powers than he has now. On the contrary, some issues, for example, the appointment of ambassadors, will have to be approved by the parliament, he said.

Shumeyko Letter on Voting on Constitution

LD2911172193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1630 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—In the course of the election campaign there are cases when members of officially registered election associations and individual candidates, making use of the access to news media, are urging electors to vote against the draft of a new constitution of the Russian Federation. This was stated in a letter sent to the Central Election Commission by Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the governmental commission for conducting nationwide vote on the draft constitution, and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation.

Thus, the letter says, such calls are being voiced by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (Zyuganov), the Democratic Party of Russia (Travkin), the "Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc and some others, all of them registered by the Central Election Commission.

A written application by a candidate stating his wish to run for a seat in one of the chambers of the Federal Assembly is an official confirmation of his adopting provisions of the draft constitution. Therefore members

of election associations and independent candidates for election to the Federal Assembly may campaign against the draft constitution only if they withdraw their associations and candidatures from registration in the Central Election Commission, the letter stresses.

"I request to consider all known facts of campaigning against the draft constitution at a nearest meeting of the Central Election Commission and withdraw from registration such election associations as the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Party of Russia which are openly calling electors to vote against the draft constitution as a whole," Vladimir Shumeyko writes in his letter.

More on Shumeyko Letter

PM3011115593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Direct Deception of Voters"]

[Text] V. Shumeyko, chairman of the government commission to stage the nationwide vote on the draft Russian Federation Constitution and first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, sent a letter to the Central Electoral Commission 29 November, stating, in particular:

"There have been instances during the election campaign when, exploiting their access to the mass media, members of officially registered electoral associations and individual candidates have called on voters to vote against the draft Russian Federation Constitution.

"Thus, from among the blocs and parties registered by the Central Electoral Commission such calls have been made by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (Zyuganov), the Democratic Party of Russia (Travkin), the 'Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin' bloc, and certain others.

"As is well known, the act defining the legal position of the Federal Assembly chambers for which elections will be held 12 December 1993 is the 'Statute on Federal Organs of Power in the Transitional Period' ratified by Russian Federation Presidential Edict No. 1400 of 21 September 1993 with subsequent amendments and additions. The functions and powers of the Federation Council and State Duma laid down in this statute are identical to the functions and powers of Federal Assembly chambers.

"Thus, a written statement from candidates of their desire to run for one of the Federal Assembly chambers constitutes official confirmation of their acceptance of the statutes in the draft Constitution (Articles 94-109) on this organ; campaigning by individual candidates to encourage people to vote for their Federal Assembly candidacy, and appeals from the same candidates for people to vote against this very parliament in the draft Constitution need to be seen as a public refusal to take part in the elections and as a downright deception of the voters.

"I would ask you at the next Central Electoral Commission session to examine all the aforesaid cases of campaigning against the draft Constitution and to deregister as pre-electoral associations the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and the Democratic Party of Russia, which are openly calling on people to vote against the draft Constitution as a whole.

"In the light of the statement issued by the Central Electoral Commission and the Information Court of Arbitration 25 November 1993, a decision should be made [vynesti resheniye] regarding the campaigning against the draft Constitution engaged in by the 'Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin' bloc, the 'Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress' (Volskiy, Vladislavlev, Rumyantsev), 'Russia's Future-New Names,' and the 'Agrarian Party of Russia.'"

Shumeyko Chairs Draft Constitution Referendum Meeting

PM3011115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian Government Press Service Report"]

[Text] A session of the government commission to ensure measures aimed at preparing for and staging the nationwide vote on the Russian Federation draft Constitution was held today, 29 November 1993, under the chairmanship of D.F. [as published] Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government.

Today's session of the commission examined the most important of the issues within its purview.

First and foremost on the basis of a report from the leaders of the mass media a decision was made to sharply step up the work of the television, radio, and the press, particularly at local level, in order that the text of the draft Constitution should reach literally all Russian citizens in the shortest possible time so as to ensure that everyone is able, thanks to informed commentary and highly detailed explanations, to grasp all the provisions of our country's new fundamental law.

Moreover, the commission examined the questions of funding the nationwide vote, the provision of communications facilities at polling places, the availability of premises for preelection work, and the preparation of transportation to take voters and relevant voting documents to polling places.

The next commission session will be held 1 December 1993.

Ryabov, Shumeyko on Constitution Referendum

LD3011114793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0952 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novokov]

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Chairman of the Central Election Commission Nikolay Ryabov and first vice-premier of the Russian Government Vladimir Shumeyko today urged everybody, taking part in the organisation of the election campaign, to devote their main attention to the preparation and holding of the nation-wide referendum on the draft of a new Russian constitution. For this purpose, they stressed during a hook-up telephone conference with chairmen of district election commissions and heads of local administrations, it is necessary to step up without delay the work to explain this most important document to all the nation, because reports from the regions indicate that the electorate is still poorly informed about it.

Ryabov said that 20 million more copies of the draft constitution would be printed urgently and sent to the election districts. They recommended the heads of local administrations and the mass media to immediately take organisational measures to bring the text of the new constitution to every Russian family, to every voter.

Ryabov dwelt at length on the forthcoming elections to the Federal Assembly. He said that no elections to the Federal Council would be held in three election districts—the Chechen, Tatar and Chelyabinsk. Moreover, no elections to the State Duma would be held in the Naberezhnye-Chelny election district. Four hundred and ninety candidates will run for elections to the upper chamber of the new parliament, and 1,567—to the lower chamber. Two hundred and nine people's deputies from the previous Russian Supreme Soviet will run for elections to the new parliament. "The unprecedented number of candidates warrants the hope that the new Russian parliament will be creative and highly efficient," Ryabov stated.

The chairmen of district election commissions and heads of administrations expressed several critical remarks, addressed to the Central Election Commission and the government, as well as several requests. For instance, they asked for additional allocations to meet the needs of the election campaign. Special attention, in their opinion, should be devoted to distant and forbidding areas.

Yavlinskiy Urges Rejection of Draft Constitution

LD2911192193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Well known economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy called upon Novosibirsk's inhabitants to reject the draft constitution submitted for nationwide voting on December 12.

Speaking at a meeting with representatives of the population of Novosibirsk in which he had arrived on Monday Yavlinskiy pointed out that adoption of this important document under the conditions in which it was currently discussed and in which the referendum had been organized could lead to a catastrophe in Russia.

He also affirmed that the president's powers mentioned in the draft constitution could lead Russia to a dictatorship.

On the elections Yavlinskiy emphasized that it was necessary to participate in them to represent a civilized opposition to the present government. However, according to him, the government's members have no moral right to take part in the elections and to work out laws and decrees.

Yavlinskiy supposed that the government was trying to establish a Duma convenient for itself and for implementation of its ideas.

Chernomyrdin Comments on Quality of Election Platforms

LD2911192993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said the parliamentary election programs of most political parties, blocs and individual candidates were based on provisions from the draft constitution.

This was very important, he told Interfax, for it proved that those wishing to be members of the new parliament were aware that adoption of the constitution was an indispensable condition for the realization of their programs.

Chernomyrdin said he had little confidence in any forecasts and the popularity ratings of various parties and candidates published in the press. He preferred to see the principal election platforms for himself.

Many of them were very much in line with the government program for further reforms approved by the president, Chernomyrdin said. He said they complemented that document and proposed ways of attaining the goals set by the government. Another remarkable feature about them was their realism, he said.

This, however, was not the case with all election programs, the prime minister said. Some of them were simply naive, he said. "I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings, but when I read an election program that proposes that one of the regional centers should be made capital instead of Moscow..., I cannot think of a different name for it than an attempt to win cheap popularity," he said. The author of such a program should ask himself how much it would cost to move government offices, banks, communications, embassies, etc., from Moscow, he said.

Chernomyrdin said some of the programs could be better if they were based on better knowledge of statistics and the actual situation in society and the economy. "I have already issued a directive that necessary reference materials be sent out to candidates as soon as possible," he said.

Commenting on the recent trips of First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar to Russia's coal-mining areas, Chernomyrdin said Gaydar had put before the miners a set of "non-traditional" measures to solve the problems

of the fuel and energy complex. The measures were worked out at one of the government's recent meetings, the Chernomyrdin said.

"The talks (between Gaydar and the miners) were difficult, as far as I know. It wasn't possible to eliminate all that caused tension, but some headway was made," he said.

"In two or three days we'll go back to the problems of the fuel and energy complex at one of our meetings. We'll listen to Gaydar and some key figures in the industry... First Deputy Premier Oleg Soskovets is preparing such a meeting," Chernomyrdin said.

Latest Comments by Election Pace-Setters Cited

PM2911145593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "What They Are Saying, What They Are Stating"]

[Text] Economist Mikhail Zadornov, "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" electoral bloc:

"Privatization is not an end in itself. The main thing is to create efficient enterprises and a wide circle of owners. It is intolerable for the state to lose control of spheres of prime significance such as, for instance, transportation."

Gennadiy Zyuganov, Communist Party of Russia:

"In the State Duma, communist deputies will fight primarily for the reestablishment of legality, the full reestablishment of the activity of the Constitutional Court, and the creation of a government of national accord"...

Gennadiy Melikyan, Party of Russian Unity and Accord:

"We advocate the active promotion of reforms but, if we move too sharply without paying attention to the social situation, a real threat is created to the reforms in their entirety...

"We do not need to help all enterprises. Sound, considered protectionism must operate. We must support only the enterprises which can raise themselves, and invest money where points of growth have been outlined."

Sergey Glazyev, Democratic Party of Russia:

"Russia is close to catastrophe. Many types of production no longer exist. The de-industrialization of the economy is in progress.

"Right now 30 percent of the country's population is below the poverty line, and 50 percent of children are below it. If we do not manage to stop the rampant decline, then the situation will become irreversible."

Sergey Vasilyev, "Russia's Choice" election bloc:

"We are promising the electorate that we will solve the Number One problem of the Russian economy—bringing the inflation level down to 3-4 percent a month by the end of 1994. This is a realistic program..."

Shakhray's PRUC Does Not Intend Joining Any Blocs

LD2911193793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Russian Vice-Premier, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord [PRUC], Sergey Shakhray announced that his party would form blocs with nobody, including Russia's Choice. "The blocs will fall apart in the parliament and voters will be misled," he emphasized during a meeting with acting head of Sverdlovsk Regional Administration Valeriy Trushnikov in Yekaterinburg on Monday. Shakhray had arrived in the Urals on a pre-electoral visit.

However, the party's leader did not rule out possible cooperation between his party and the democratic, centrist and local constituencies' parties through withdrawal of their nominations in favor of a stronger candidate.

According to Shakhray, he will demand that the State Duma's sessions be not televised.

The dynamics of the party's popularity does not sound optimistic, Shakhray remarked. Public opinion polls show that PRUC will be represented in the State Duma. However, the number of seats gained will be far from 19-20 percent earlier estimated by Shakhray.

Shakhray said he thought "Yeltsin had to be a non-party president. However, no other politician could become the country's leader outside the party political structures."

On military conflicts Shakhray pointed out that Russia had no right to withdraw its troops from the Caucasus and the CIS states. However, families of servicemen stationed there should be withdrawn. Russia must conclude agreements on its military bases on these states' territories. "Otherwise treaty will protect Russians in the neighboring states," he emphasized.

At a press conference the same day Shakhray said that he continued to stand against the self-proclamation of the Ural Republic by the Sverdlovsk region. "The aim to strengthen the status of the Sverdlovsk region in the economic and other spheres can be achieved without proclaiming itself a republic. This has been manifested in the draft Russian constitution," the vice-premier emphasized.

However, Shakhray said that he would support the Ural Republic if it was established on the base of 5-6 regions and two Ural republics.

During the Monday visit to the industrial enterprise Uraltransmash which is one of the major arms manufacturing enterprise in the Mid-Urals, Shakhray pointed out that the government should think about aid to machine-building and oil enterprises and about protection of the

Russian market from American production, especially regarding strategic production.

Democratic Party, Communist Party Agendas

LD3011004893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 29 November, in the first half of its 60-minute pre- election program "Russia: Federal Assembly" features a live studio discussion with representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia. The second half is devoted to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF).

The Democratic Party of Russia is represented by Nikolay Vasilyevich Fedorov and party leader Nikolay Ilyich Travkin. Presenter Georgiy Dolgov begins by reminding his guests to abide by the agreements reached at the meeting between President Yeltsin and leaders of various parties and blocs. He also contends that any rejection or criticism of the constitution is tantamount to a refusal to contest the elections, "because if the constitution is not adopted, what then is a bloc and its members running for?" Nikolay Travkin contests Dolgov's claim, saying he was running for a seat in a legislative body, and the legitimacy of his claims would be determined by the number of votes cast for his party. The basis for the election is a statute signed by the president.

He goes on to say: "Our meeting is being held in the framework of a revised democratic campaign and revised glasnost. For some reason this revision is described as an agreement with the president—even though the word agreement is not quite pertinent." Travkin then enumerated the main points of this revision. First, contestants at the elections are told not to criticize each other—so as not to shock foreigners by our uncivilized manners. "When we were shelling the White House and CNN was broadcasting this to the whole world, nobody cared that foreigners might think us uncivilized." But we accept this, Travkin says. Second, speakers are told not to criticize the authorities. And third, they are told not to criticize the constitution. "Here Boris Nikolayevich says in so many words: we are not giving you air-time from the budget to criticize the constitution—a rather odd concept of the budget. I always thought the budget is our taxes, but the authorities regard the budget as some sort of personal savings of theirs, which they will not allow to be spent on criticizing their brainchild, but we accept this as well."

Today, we will talk about the fight against crime, how this is linked with legislation and with the draft constitution, Travkin says, and here to talk about it is lawyer Nikolay Fedorov. Nikolay Vasilyevich Fedorov says the whole situation can be viewed from a more optimistic and philosophical perspective. There has long been a simple and pragmatic formula: the first to grab the stick becomes the corporal. "Democrats and non-democrats alike have long been saying that order has to be tightened and enforced, and this requires a mechanism of some sort. The president has long been persuaded to abandon the constitution and the formal bounds of the law, since they have fallen behind the times. And in this situation, especially after the events of 3-4 October, the problem of the scale of crime has become extremely acute—especially in the conditions in the aftermath of those events. Having abandoned the formal bounds of the law we have thus entered—as we had been warned before—an area outside the law and the constitution, where law is replaced by the fist, by force, by the stick, by a corporal, a master, a tsar. Foreign press very often call our dear and respected Boris Nikolayevich: Czar Boris."

Fedorov goes on to say that the net of the law in Russia always caught small fish and let large fish escape. Criminological analysis shows that "crime on such a scale can only exist if there is a state infrastructure that supports it along the entire line of the state system, the infrastructure that informs and backs the criminal underworld. Otherwise crime cannot exist. This means we have to look closely at who is doing what, along the entire line of presidential and government authority, in the center, in the provinces, and in the republics of the Russian Federation. And it should not be just a fight. When there is lots of garbage in the streets you do not fight garbage; you just take a broom and start sweeping." Nothing has changed in the fight against crine since the Supreme Soviet was disbanded and the president and the executive were given more powers.

Fedorov continues: "Why has it not changed? In my view, it is because there is no political will." Militia generals prefer to sit on various commissions and to set up new bodies to fight crime, rather than do something specific. The Interior Ministry and the minister himself seem to believe that their main task is to inform society about the scale of crime and frighten everyone.

In contrast, the Democratic Party proposes specific measures, Fedorov says. For instance, to change the law to protect witnesses from persecution by criminals by introducing anonymity during the investigation and in court. Travkin adds that the simplest way to do this is to issue a presidential decree.

Fedorov goes on to speak about enhancing the role of the street cop. Travkin and Fedorov say that the money spent on fighting crime and the money that state or non-state enterprises are prepared to spend on this, has to be exempt from taxes. Moreover, additional incentives to encourage this kind of spending have to be introduced. Travkin criticized changes envisaged in the draft constitution. He says local authorities will have to implement state policies on public order and crime-fighting, but they will not have any funds of their own or any say in the selection of law-enforcement staff. Travkin believes that local bodies must retain taxes to organize the fight against crime. If they manage to find some extra money outside the budget for this purpose, this money should be exempt from taxes; and they must be able to select personnel.

Fedorov says the draft constitution envisages an increase in the number of militia generals, rather than enhancing the role of local militia. In contrast, the Democratic Party blueprint puts the emphasis on an effective professional militia and responsibility of local authorities equipped with necessary powers and incentives. The problem, Fedorov reiterates, is that of political will at the top to fight crime. If you want to fight crime, the main principle is inevitability of punishment, and that means supremacy of the law and the judiciary. But the draft constitution says the president, not the independent judiciary, is the guarantor of the constitution and of the rights of the individual.

Travkin says the root of high incidence of crime is easy money. The present economic policy makes it possible to get lots of money not by working but by robbing other people and by speculating. The Democratic Party proposes changing the economic policy.

Fedorov says that Western loans generate bureaucracy and corruption and set a bad example for the population. "We propose a policy in which priority is given not to loans, which result in the spread of crime and corruption, but to lifting discriminatory trade barriers, which block the way abroad for our products. Thus, we shall solve the problem of fighting crime, since there will be no gravy train of loans: and the economy will also benefit, because we will create competitive technologies. Moreover, the Russian Government has every right for that. With our concessions in the area of nuclear security, when by abandoning military programs and proceeding with conversion, albeit in a very chaotic manner, we guarantee secure peace to the rest of the world, it is time the West abandons its discriminatory measures against the Russian economy.

Travkin concludes by saying the next political broadcast by the Democratic Party will be on Ostankino Television Network on 6 December at 1840 GMT and will feature Stanislav Govorukhin. A contract for 24 minutes of air-time has been signed and the money has been paid.

On 8 December, on Russian Television, there will be a broadcast featuring Travkin, Govorukhin, Sergey Glazyev, Oleg Bogomolov, and Fedorov. He also promised to answer questions from voters in the press.

The second part of the program is devoted to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF). Live in the studio are Nina Vladimirovna Berdnikova, Yuriy Pavlovich Belov from the party's executive committee, Professor Rem Minovich Filimonov, and teacher Tamara Vasilyevna Pletneva.

Belov begins by saying that today's broadcast will be focusing on spirituality and education. He cites "five great spiritual needs," which the state ought to meet: the need to procreate, the need to work, the need to learn, the need to communicate, and the need for beauty. Procreation, he said, depends on economic stability. He cites figures to prove that there is no stability in present-day Russia. He criticizes the draft constitution, which does not guarantee the rights to work, leisure, and free education. The Communist Party, Belov says, proposes an optimum combination of state and private ownership. "We do not reject private property. In a mixed economy, as envisaged in our manifesto, it has its proper place. But if the state sector does not dominate over the private sector, there will be no socio-economic guarantees."

The next speaker, Pletneva, bemoans the loss of values and ideals in society and the plight of teachers. She says the state is lying all the time. When presenter Georgiy Dolgov comments that in the Communist era the state lied too, Pletneva says: "This comment should be addressed to the former leaders of the CPSU, and there are more of them in the Kremlin than in the CPRF." She then spoke about universal values. "The main one among these values is human life. It has to be protected. And our party stands for statehood, for a strong state in which the people have a right to express their will and their views."

Belov intervenes and says the vexing question for many young people today is: where is my fatherland? "We are realists, and we understand that it is impossible to recreate the USSR in one go, by issuing an order to that effect. History does not repeat itself. But the need to set up a union state, stage by stage and on a voluntary basis, is not just a political, but also a spiritual issue—since a state is not only a political but also a spiritual entity. And the creation of a union state is also included in our manifesto." He adds that "it will take on some other forms. It is not a question of recreating an exact copy of what used to be."

Filimonov then talks about the sorry state of the health service in Russia—Berdnikova reads out figures to support this. Filimonov says that the Communist Party stands for retention of a free health service. Belov specifies that the party is not against paid services, but believes that there has to be a guaranteed minimum of free services. Filimonov says the party favors taxing the rich to finance public health, allowing doctors to engage in private practice, promoting voluntary medical insurance, and providing state help to mothers.

Belov adds that the party's manifesto includes guarantees for the old, who he said had saved the whole world during the war. In conclusion, Berdnikova speaks briefly about culture, saying that the funding was insufficient and lambasting some representatives of the intelligentsia for condoning the killing of unarmed people in the White House and for acting as informers against political dissidents.

Belov concludes by saying the Communist Party is not seeking a monopoly on power. "What can save and then revive Russia is a union of state patriotic forces." He tries to introduce a book written by party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, but rans out of time.

Russia's Choice Position on Army Detailed

LD2911230993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 1930 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Defense Ministry]

[Text] In Russia the parliamentary election campaign is well under way. The electoral blocs and parties that are allowed to participate in the campaign are actively advocating their political programs to citizens. How important are military affairs to them? This question cannot leave servicemen indifferent. Our correspondent has met Sergey Yushenkov, secretary of the Russia's Choice bloc, and this is what he had to say:

[Begin Yushenkov recording] We advocate a very firm legal basis for the Army. We have prepared a list of draft laws on the Army which we will have to work on. We would like to introduce certain points in some statutes of the law on social protection for servicemen. We will adopt relevant amendments to the already existing laws on military service.

The Russia's Choice bloc is a liberal bloc, and we fully understand that harsh discipline based on some external forces is not the same as true discipline. We will fight against slave contracts. We realize that what is happening now is in fact serfdom, which violates the most basic rights of officers and servicemen in general. The state must provide solid guarantees to servicemen, because this specific group of state employees does not have and cannot have any other means of income, and this is why their pay must be really high. [end recording]

'Voter's Hour' Program Highlights Parties

LD2911143593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 25 November broadcasts the "Voter's Hour" program. The program is devoted to the "Future of Russia—New Names" election bloc and the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia.

The segment on the "Future of Russia—New Names" segment begins with a brief commercial for the party showing 12 December on the calendar. It voices dissatisfaction with reigning chaos and cuts to brief clips of the siege of White House and of the former parliament in session.

Vladimir Mironov, director of the Institute of Politics, says that their association is an association of young professionals, aged on average between 35 and 36, honest people unlinked to politics. He then introduces Anatoliy Guskov, president of the "Ramenskoye" production association. To make the broadcast more interesting it will be presented in the form of a dialogue, he says.

Guskov begins speaking. The young people who make up his party have lifted the economy in difficult times and have achieved certain results in production, he states. He himself is president of the "Ramenskoye" production association firm, which is situated in seven rayons of Moscow oblast, in Ryazan oblast, and in the City of Moscow, he explains. In five years the number of its staff rose from 12 to over 4,000. He describes the various production areas in which the firm is engaged.

Mironov produces a consumers' basket made up of potatoes, bread, butter, eggs, meat, and sugar to demonstrate how people are now consuming dramatically less foodstuffs than two years ago. This has resulted in the death rate in Russia being double the birth rate in the past few months. People have started going downhill very quickly and are living under dreadful conditions, he states. The way out of these difficulties is not what present-day politicians, both left-wingers and right-wingers propose, he says. The results of their rule is well known and they are unable to take the country out of the crisis. Young people who have not besmirched themselves with politics and have not been scrounging are the answer and Anatoliy Guskov is one such person, he concludes.

Mironov, using the small town of Lyubertsy as an example of real life in a real town in Russia, asks what the main problem is that is being faced by the people of Lyubertsy. Guskov replies that it is to provide heat in a harsh winter. His attempts to help were sharply rejected by the administration of Lyubertsy rayon.

Mironov says that the main problem for "us, all ordinary citizens" is to try to bring the proliferating bureaucrats, essentially bloodsuckers, under control. In the past three years they have increased many times over.

Guskov attacks the conversion of unique defense enterprises. Mironov follows with an attack on the country's de-industrialization, including the oil extraction and coal mining industry, mechanical industry, and the military-industrial complex. The principal priority of the party's program is defending state-national and industrial interests, and defending industrial capital, he states. Anatoliy Guskov is a representative of such national capital, he says.

Footage detailing aims of "Future of Russia—New Names" is shown. A meeting of the party is shown with Mironov as one of the three chairmen. The federation-wide list of the association is made up of almost 100 candidates to the State Duma and the federal assembly. The candidates represent 41 regions. The average age of candidates is 34 years. The list is headed by Vyacheslav Lashchevskiy, 33 years old; Oleg Sokolov, 31 years old; and Vladimir Mironov, 39 years old. They say that the elections make sense only if they produce new names.

The slogan "Living Without Fear" is captioned on the screen, which is explained as an aim of the party. Candidate V.V. Ivanenko explains this in greater detail. Another slogan "Living in sufficiency" is captioned.

Then candidate V.L. Zharikhin tells how he came to the "Future of Russia—New Names" party. Politics and morality should go together, he states.

The slogans "Living, Being Proud of Russia" and "We Are You. You Are Us!" are captioned.

Mironov says that in the last 10 minutes he proposes to give the main details of the party's program: to ensure living without fear, mainly of crime. Crime has become especially uncontrolled in such small and medium-sized towns as Lyubertsy, he says.

Guskov says that in Lyubertsy constituency No. 108, which numbers 538,000 voters, crime went up 2.5 to 3 times compared with last year. His firm is helping the militia, but criminals are better equipped, he states. Rising crime is due to economic instability of industry and the economic isolation of enterprises, he explaines. The fact that enterprises are going into decline means that young people cannot find jobs there, and one of the avenues open is to join organized gangs, he concludes.

Mironov says that many of the party's candidates are members of law enforcement bodies. They say that if given the order they could annihilate organized crime in a matter of days.

Mironov claims that in a situation of rampant crime it is far easier for those who are connected with the state apparatus to grab—khapat, in Russian—and apologizes for using this rude word. The problem of crime and corruption in the state apparatus are very closely linked. "Fusion of the mafia and the state apparatus is a one of Russia's problems which indeed needs te be declared war on," he states. He continues: "We are going to the Duma with a very clear-cut program to combat crime. This involves first and foremost amending the existing legislation, adopting laws that would make crime impossible and would seriously complicate corruption. This involves first and foremost substantially the state apparatus. This involves introducing a yearly examination for all officials. Moreover, the experts of our bloc are seriously discussing and studying the question of the possibility of transferring the capital out of Moscow so as to curb Moscow officialdom." As a result Muscovites would live far better, and the ecological situation would improve, he says.

Mironov asks how to ensure the progress of economic reforms. Where will the money needed for implementing the bloc's social programs come from, he asks. Guskov asks where the money will come from for raising pensions and for raising the wages of teachers, doctors, and poor people, given that there is no money in the budget. Abuses need to be rectified: Potatoes are bought in Poland and milk powder in the FRG while Russia's agriculture is being ruined.

Mironov says that, according to calculations of Western sources, the annual flight of capital from Russia is approximately $10 to $15 billion. There you have the money for a realistic program, for realistic social programs. Mironov concludes: "We believe that Russia will find its feet."

The segment ends with a repeat of the initial commercial for "Future of Russia - New Names."

A segment for the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia—LDPR—begins. Zhirinovskiy is seated behind a desk flanked on his right by Viktor Vasilyevich Kobelev, head of the party's apparatus and on his right by Aleksey Mitrofanov, a minister in the LDPR shadow cabinet.

After having been invited to speak by Zhirinovskiy, Kobelev talks about the composition of the LDPR federation-wide list of candidate deputies to the State Duma and the Federal Assembly. It includes 147 candidates. There are candidates from approximately 40 regions of Russia. Signature lists were collected in almost all regions. There are representatives of various professions.

Zhirinovskiy gives some more details about the party's candidates. Ninety-nine percent of them are Russians. Ninety-nine percent are practical experts. Ninety-nine percent are mature people whose average age is 45 to 55 years. There are also women, young people, and people from the most varied professions, but the main core is made up of professional lawyers and economists. The list includes the only procuracy official standing in the elections, he states.

Aleksey Valentinovich Mitrofanov, minister in the LDPR shadow cabinet, says that there are traditional voters for the LDPR. They are the one who supported Zhironovskiy in the presidential elections in 1991. They make up almost eight percent of the elctorate: 6,211,000. Since then that support has expanded and the figures now being supplied by the so-called public opinion polls of 2 to 3 percent are clearly wrong, he states. Mitrofanov says it is imperative that even those who traditionaly do not accept the LDPR should vote in LDPR candidates to bring in a new party and thus strengthen democracy. It does not make sense to come to the electorate with a finalized programme; only how problems will be approached should be indicated.

Zhirinovskiy gives advice to his supporters on the practicalities of casting their vote, telling them to make sure that they find out who the LDPR deputies.

Zhirinovskiy says that personal attacks and slander should be avoided in the election campaign. Zhirinovskiy says that the LDPR is in favor of the Constitution, although on some finer points he has some criticism. A parliamentary republic has shown itself to be impossible: An attempt to create it collapsed in October 1993. He says: "We are against the restoration of the USSR, we are against the existence of the CIS. We are in favor of the Russian state." "The borders of the former USSR are the borders of the Russian state inamsuch as Russia has become the successor of the former USSR." Zhirinovskiy promises that beginning 13 December he will speak more explicitly about Russia's new and old

neighbors, but will not doing so today so as not to fall afoul of the criminal code. He recommends his book: "The Last Push South." This reveals the further foreign policy of his government. So far it is not on sale in the shops, but it can be ordered from the party's headquarters, he says.

He states that not adopting the Constitution would only create worse conditions. He goes on to give his schedule: Tomorrow the leaders of election blocs will meet with Yeltsin. Tomorrow he will appear again on Ostankino First Channel at 2200 hours Moscow time. On Saturday he will be speaking at Sokolniki underground stations at 1400 hours. On Sunday he will fly to Mineralnyy Vody to meet Cossacks and all inhabitants of Stavropol kray. Tomorrow Zhirinovskiy will address young Russians and representatives of other nations on Ostankino at 2200 and also on Russian TV.

A. Kashpirovskiy, a well known psychotherapist and an LDPR candidate to the State Duma, is shown in a pre-recorded interview in which he stresses in his capacity as a psychotherapist the importance of health.

Zhirinovskiy Supporters Running in Strength in Vologda

PM2911144593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Viktor Filippov report: "Liberal Democrats Are Counting on the Provinces"]

[Text] Vologda—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy has apparently made Vologda his provincial base. Seven Vologda inhabitants are running for the State Duma on the Liberal Democratic Party list—a teacher at a higher educational institute, a journalist, and five entrepreneurs.

For the sake of comparison: Shakhray's party has only two activists from Vologda on its lists, while the "Russia's Choice" bloc has only one. Back in the spring (IZVESTIYA No. 69) we reported that the opposition had sharply stepped up its work in the provinces. Zhirinovskiy personally visited Vologda four times. With his usual artistry, during his last visit, at a rally organized in the city center by local entrepreneurs, Vladimir Volfovich spent over two hours instructing the people how they should live .

Today, the Vologda branch of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] has already been compared in size with the oblast's "Democratic Russia." But, unlike the latter, it is operating more energetically and openly. The local "Russia's Choice" bloc, whose backbone is made up of "Democratic Russia" members, held its constituent conference behind closed doors, barring all journalists from the hall. This action generated a negative reaction among the public, which, following the October events, is very sensitive about any infringements of its rights.

But Zhirinovskiy's candidates, on the other hand, have organized mass walkabouts among the people. The Vologda contenders for a seat in the State Duma on the LDPR list have, moreover, registered individually in territorial districts in their native Vologda, Cherepovets, and Yaroslavl and Kostroma Oblasts.

"I am scarcely going to collect enough votes in Rybinsk, where no one knows me," Igor Lednev, a Vologda journalist and member of the LDPR, says. "But free access to local newspapers, radio, and television will enable us to increase the number of supporters of our party in regions where we are still weak."

According to Lednev, funding for this campaign has come from "nationally minded entrepreneurs." During the 1991 Russian presidential election 7 percent of Vologda inhabitants voted for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. In the current elections the LDPR is reckoning to win at least 15 percent of the votes in Vologda.

Organizations Protest Zhirinovskiy's Speech

LD2911160793 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1315 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] [No dateline as received] A statement to the Russian Government concerning Mr. Zhirinovskiy's speech in the "Hour of the Voter" program was circulated by a number of non-governmental organizations and national and cultural centers of Almaty.

This speech, in the opinion of these organizations, is aimed at stirring up the interethnic dissension on the territory of the former USSR. It is noted that Mr. Zhirinovskiy, using the opportunity to speak as a nominee, addresses the neighboring independent states with territorial claims on behalf of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. The fact that he makes insulting remarks against the head of state elected by the people of Kazakhstan also arouses indignation.

The authors of the statement express their regret that the leadership of Russia allows the mass media to circulate without any hindrances, appeals, and slogans which stir up racial and national dislike. This cannot facilitate strengthening of friendly ties between the nations and states.

The statement contains a protest to the Russia Government, which allows anti-democratic and pro-fascist speeches via the state-owned mass media.

Zhirinovskiy Outlines Party Stance on Constitution

LD3011025393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1855 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1855 GMT on 29 November carries the "A Word To The Voter" election program, which features campaign ads by various blocs.

The program opens with an ad for the Russia's Choice bloc. The ad features bloc leader Yegor Gaydar, who speaks about recent hard times and a bright future ahead. Summing up, he says: "Liberty, property, and legality—that's Russia's Choice. That's a guarantee that our children will live in the great country which Russia always has been, is, and will be."

A Democratic Party of Russia ad shows brief shots of leader Nikolay Travkin and candidates Stanislav Govorukhin and Oleg Bogomolev. This is followed by a 20-minute ad for the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, which shows the movement's news conference on 19 November, at which chairman Gavriil Popov, Independent Miners' Union (IMU) leader A. Sergeyev, and Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov canvassed for the vote of skilled workers. Video shows Sergeyev, Kuzbass IMU leader Vyacheslav Sharipov, and candidate Aleksandr Kiselev being interviewed by Russian pop star Oleg Gazmanov, during which they talks about their labor background.

The logo of the Russian Unity and Accord Party is then displayed briefly. After this a brief Civic Union ad showing an array of faces on Red Square is shown. This is followed by a repeat of the Democratic Party of Russia ad shown earlier.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDRP), appears live behind a studio desk and speaks for seven minutes. He begins with an appeal for agricultural, business, and ecological circles to tune in to the LDRP election ad the following day. He then says that his attention has been increasingly drawn to requests for the LDRP to clarify its position on the draft constitution.

Zhirinovskiy says: "I want to be clear on this. Our party is not making any calls or militating in any way either for or against. It is a private matter for each of you. Literally in 10 or 11 days' time, in the cabins for secret voting, you yourselves will decide the fate of that document [draft constitution]. Simply, as a lawyer, I have frequently said that in any case, in perspective, it is necessary to adopt that document. In Russian, it's called the Basic Law. If there's no basic law in the country then it's impossible to make other laws, including criminal legislation."

He goes on to say: "We also don't like a number of articles in it: on the interior set-up, private ownership of land, on the powers of the two chambers, but it's never possible to make a document that would suit everyone. The main thing is this—imagine we make a different, very good constitution. All nicely written. One to please everyone. Our life will change for the better. It's a formal document. It's like a driver's license. Each driver has one but one driver drives along the road while another runs you down. Every doctor has a diploma, but one doctor will cure you, another will send you to your grave. Therefore the main thing is how are we to live."

Zhirinovskiy continues: "The constitution represents a basic thing—that we are the state of Russia, that we are citizens of the Russian state, that we have executive, legislative, and judicial authorities, that we have a territory, that there are various functions between the center and the territories, that the citizens have rights. It's like a birth certificate. A bad child, a sick child, a child with parents in prison—that child is issued with a birth certificate. He may have been born a bad boy, a drug addict, a hooligan, but when he's 16 we give him a passport. Therefore a juridicial document does not at all solve the gist of the problem. You can adopt a constitution—we had four of them, we forgot about them, they lay untouched."

Zhirinovskiy then talks about articles in the old constitutions which he considers favorable. He says: "To be specific, we will be making separate speeches about crime and the fight against the mafia from the south to which I am delighted to invite officers from the ministries of security, internal affairs, defense, the law enforcement bodies, and representatives of the criminal world so that they know that there are hard times ahead for them, that the population is tired, and the most decisive measures in the fight against crime are only possible if we throw in the Armed Forces: Our Army, the Security Ministry. A lot of Security Ministry officers have joined other structures. I think they will return if there is a chance they can get on with their professional duties. Only that way—if we temporarily allow the leaders of the gangs to be shot on the spot if the gangs are caught at the scene of the crime—will we be able to put things in order."

The program concludes with Zhirinovskiy saying: "In the long run, individual territories of the former USSR will be returned to the body of the Russian state at the request of the leaders and heads of those territories. God forbid one drop of blood, one shot, one Russian soldier being wounded when the borders are changed in the future. At present our borders in the south are undefined and no state can exist like that. As for the land: We want everyone to have the use of it and oppose its sale. I finish my speech here and await you tomorrow at 0730 on Mayak."

Agrarian Party Leader Lapshin Interviewed

PM2911135193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Agrarian Party of Russia leader Mikhail Lapshin by Valeriy Konovalov; place and date not given: "Mikhail Lapshin: 'We Want To Be an Autonomous Force, Not a Pawn in Someone Else's Game'"]

[Text] For many years now Mikhail Lapshin, current leader of the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR], has been a member of the elite of the corps of kolkhoz chairmen. A long time ago he and others like him started laying the foundations of agricultural reform, experimenting—at times very boldly—on their kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and striving for economic freedom. But from the onset of perestroyka the famous chairmen, with the exception of

those who personally joined the private farmers movement, found themselves in opposition to radical reforms. Another paradox lies in the fact that these leaders, much earlier than others, utilized the new opportunities on their farms, issued shares, implemented reforms, and achieved tangible results from the economic freedom and the new forms of economic management.

As a matter of fact, Mikhail Lapshin himself considers all this to be perfectly logical, just like his party's stance. He comes from a long line of peasants, born in the Altay countryside in 1934. He graduated as an agronomist from the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy in Moscow, and followed this up by graduating from the Maurice Thorez Foreign Languages Institute in Moscow. He is a candidate of economic sciences. For 32 years now Lapshin has been working in a Moscow region farm—first as sovkhoz director and, since quite recently, as president of the joint-stock company into which the sovkhoz was transformed.

He became involved in big-time politics in 1990, when he was elected Russian Federation people's deputy. Lapshin headed the "Agrarian Union" faction—one of the largest and most influential in the former parliament. The faction enjoyed a stable reputation as a conservative force opposing the radical democrats. Lapshin simultaneously led the "Coordination Council for Collective Actions by Agro-Industrial Complex Working People," which organized various "days of protest" and "days of protection of peasants' interests." As a matter of fact, Mikhail Lapshin himself enjoys a far less odious reputation than Vasiliy Starodubtsev, for example, and is inclined more toward dialogue and compromise than toward implacable struggle.

From the APR Election Platform

—Russia's revival must begin from its very foundation—the countryside, with a restoration of historical justice for the peasantry.

—We are in favor of sensible destatization of the means of production, pursuit of a genuine people's privatization, adoption of a state program for the protection of domestic—primarily rural—commodity producers....

—The Agrarians will launch in parliament a resolute struggle against the desecration of Russia's centuries-long history, against the implantation of multinational feuds and hatred, against the imposition of the cult of profit, depravity, and violence.

—We are in favor of free apportionment of land in the ownership of all urban and rural residents wishing to run their personal farm, cultivate market gardening and truck farming plots, or build a country home for their families, but we are against the transformation of land into an object of feckless and reckless buying and selling or a means for laundering dishonestly acquired capital.

—The Agrarian Party advocates a state-regulated transition to market relations and the creation of a civilized socially oriented market.

—One of our main task in parliament will be to ensure healthy protectionism of private farming by the state with a view to its development and establishment on a modern civilized basis.

—We deem it necessary to amend individual aspects of the state's foreign economic policy, to consistently cut back the imports of foodstuffs which are traditionally produced in our country in sufficient quantities, and to channel the funds thus released toward boosting the purchases of new technologies, machines, and equipment for the food industry and processing sectors.

[Konovalov] How do you respond to the occasional claims that you are a branch of the Communist Party?

[Lapshin] Going by composition and names, "Russia's Choice" could also be dubbed a communist branch. We do not consider ourselves to be anybody's branch, we decided to contest the elections autonomously, without joining any other blocs. We would consider as kindred spirit anyone who shares our view: Russia's revival would be possible only through the countryside's revival. Be it Zhirinovskiy or Gaydar, the Communists or the "Civic Union." We would like to be a healthy nucleus in parliament, around which others could rally. But we will not allow anyone to dominate us and make any statements on our behalf. People eager to do so already appeared when our party was created—certain political forces expressed not only the keenest of interest in us but also a desire to lead the process. But we did realize that we would be strong only if we remained autonomous rather than ending up as pawns in someone else's game.

[Konovalov] Does it not seem to you that the new parliament might again end up in implacable opposition to the president and government, rejecting all proposals and compromises?

[Lapshin] Judging by what is happening, it seems to me that the former parliament will prove to have been very peaceable in comparison with the new one. After all, it was elected from among the population, not along party lines. The parties will strive for their own goals and will reflect the dissatisfaction of various strata of society and will exploit it in political struggle, in the struggle for power. Just wait and see, when Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy] starts speaking in parliament (with all due respect for him), the former oppositionists will prove to have been real champions of peace in comparison. As far as we are concerned, we are going to parliament to work, not to fight.

[Konovalov] But slogans for struggle can often be heard from your ranks. Including slogans for struggle against "privatization of farming," struggle against the "disbandment of kolkhozes." What do they mean? Is there any ban on kolkhoz members retaining their kolkhoz if

they so wish? Many have actually done this by reregistering their kolkhozes and nobody prevented them doing it. Was anyone actually forced to become a private farmer? On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence that peasants are being prevented from withdrawing from kolkhozes and setting up private farming. What is the intended target of your struggle?

[Lapshin] Yes, we are talking a lot about the artificial implantation of private farming and the forced disbandment of kolkhozes. There are quite a few examples of this. Look at recent events in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast.... Temptations were offered to six [collective] farms, their leaders were taken on trips abroad, a major advertising campaign was launched, people got carried away and...the farms went out of existence. People find it difficult to resist under such propaganda pressure. Furthermore, administration heads keep pushing the leaders: Get on with it, they tell them, don't let us lag behind our neighbors, set up private farmers. Six persons in our own [state] farm expressed the wish to go private and received their shares. But only one of them proved to have the necessary resources. He is the only one working properly. We are helping him, incidentally. I personally am not against private farming, I believe that Russia needs private property but on equal footing with state and collective property. Private farming must be up to modern standards to prevent people becoming just an appendage of livestock.

As for kolkhozes which have remained such after their reregistration, this is not so. Collective farms where everything belongs to everyone and nothing specific is personally owned—such farms have been eliminated, even though they may still go by the name of kolkhozes. Each worker actually owns his share already and has the right to withdraw from the [collective] farm. And now, if people wish to set up a genuine collective farm with collective ownership, they have to traverse a very difficult path—they will have to buy back the shares of equipment and land and reinstate them as collective property. Just try this reinstatement once everything has been shared out, even if people are willing.

[Konovalov] So, how should agriculture be reformed in your view? After all, you actually embarked on the reorganization of your sovkhoz a long time ago.

[Lapshin] We started issuing shares back in 1986, at a time when it was far from simple to talk or write about this. Your newspaper, by the way, did manage to report this at the time, but with great difficulty. I personally am convinced that a farm would be most efficiently and most sensibly organized if each worker has his own share. But I am also convinced that agriculture needs a state sector as well. I have visited many countries and I have seen for myself state agricultural enterprises which work very efficiently and nobody has any intention of disbanding them.

Collective ownership and collective farms are also necessary. This is in no way a figment of the bolsheviks' imagination. Last spring, for example, I went to Israel and visited the kibbutzim—genuine collective farms with collective property, perfectly efficient farms. We ought not to attack the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, we ought to create normal conditions for them.

[Konovalov] And yet the kolkhoz system would seem to have manifested its inability to feed the country, we have had to purchase increasingly larger quantities of foodstuffs abroad....

[Lapshin] I would disagree with you there. On the contrary, I believe that kolkhozes and sovkhozes produced great surpluses of output and created overproduction. It is a different matter that our overall ownerless society was unable to cope with this produce sensibly. Gigantic losses did occur, but that was already outside agriculture's framework. And yet, for some reason, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes were and still are considered to have been responsible for it.

I also disagree with people saying that the countryside is wallowing in drunkenness and theft and that the kolkhoz system is apparently to blame for that as well. The countryside is suffering from the same illness as society as a whole and the cause of it, in my view, lies not in the form of ownership but somewhere else. Even today people in the village of Setovka in the Altay, where I was born, do not install locks on their doors, they just use a latch to show that there is nobody at home, they are not afraid of thieves. Or drunkenness, for example. The sowing campaign always coincides with Easter. I have never—not once in all my 32 years of work on the farm—seen a drunken machine operator during the sowing campaign, while city folk come to the countryside to celebrate and stroll around well and truly in their cups. Of course, the countryside has its full share of misfortunes and problems, but it is not a matter of forms of ownership or economic management. The problem is more deeply rooted.

[Konovalov] You are defending the kolkhozes, yet you yourself were least of all satisfied with this form and the agrarian policy pursued by the former state....

[Lapshin] Yes, I and my fellow-villagers were always certain that the state was cheating and exploiting us. But what is happening now! Look at it: We are selling grain at 70 rubles [R] per kilogram while a kilogram of bread sells at R400 in the store, so who pockets the difference of more than R300? Who is profiting at our expense? In view of all this, what attitude should we peasants adopt toward the state and the government? After all, as far as we are concerned the government is primarily a purchaser, and a purchaser that has gone broke at that.

[Konovalov] But some of your people, party representatives, are actually in the government: Vice Premier Zaveryukha and, for example, Deputy Minister Shcherbak as well as some others, in other words there is a party influence?

[Lapshin] Indeed, Zaveryukha is one of our candidates, he is soundly and actively struggling for our interests, I can confirm this. But even with his help we find it difficult to get what we want from the government. Alas, people do not understand us, they do not support our demands.

[Konovalov] How do you explain this, surely not by claiming that the government leaders intend to ruin the economy on instructions from the CIA?

[Lapshin] Whenever someone says this, I immediately reject this story because agents do not function this way, they are afraid that they might be exposed. But.... Zaveryukha and I go to see Gaydar, to complain and to submit our demands. And what does he say? It is apparently a disgrace that payments are not made, but if we pay up we'll end up with hyperinflation. How do you like that?!

[Konovalov] But is he not right?

[Lapshin] And why should we be at the receiving end, why should savings be effected at our expense? Just because others use ultimatums and strikes? The country bumpkins will put up with it—oh yeah? On this point we are at one with the private farmers, they are going through even harder times. As a matter of fact, the recent confrontation between private farmers and collective farms—which, in my view, was more imaginary than real—has altogether vanished now. Many private farmers support our party. So, I cannot find any sensible explanation for the government's attitude toward us.

[Konovalov] And if you came to power, what would you undertake to resolve these problems?

[Lapshin] First of all it would be necessary to get down to pure economics, temporarily freezing all political processes that can be frozen. And the government ought to be purely economy-minded. In addition, it would be necessary to clearly define the priorities. These are the priorities we need now: Not to let people freeze through the winter, and second to develop the agro-industrial complex on the basis of diversity. Money could be found to back up these priorities. The money is there, but it is turning around in the circulation sphere, not in production. Funds could be redistributed and the financial situation improved with the help of a sensible investments and taxation policy. Even some prices could be frozen....

[Konovalov] You are talking about the need for consultations and are displaying a readiness for dialogue. In view of this, why was the atmosphere in the former parliament diametrically opposite to this, seeing that you were involved in the creation of that atmosphere?

[Lapshin] I would have very much liked to have been a dove. But what do you do in a situation when it is impossible to keep silent? Look at the recent edict on land reform, it allows for the looting of land, for latifundism....

[Konovalov] Our newspaper was one of the first to publish material expressing similar fears in connection with the edict. But we somehow got the impression that this was actually the result of pressure by the agrarian lobby, the corps of chairmen.

[Lapshin] There are all sorts of chairmen. I warned against this danger from the very beginning. It is not the private farmer but the chairman who actually could become a latifundist. Actually, even he would be unable to do so on his own. You need the following triumvirate: chairman, rayon administration head, and some city banker. If they get together and agree, you end up with a latifundium. In my view, the edict offers such an opportunity. Rigid curbs are needed, actually at Constitution level, and the draft still lacks such curbs. I visited the state of Iowa, I asked how land purchases work there, they have so many restrictions and conditions that it is difficult to list them all, let alone comply with them. It is extremely necessary for us to ensure that land remains in the hands of those who work it. This concern ought to be a priority for those who come to power.

[Konovalov] Which personalities would comprise your government if you were to come to power?

[Lapshin] It is hard to say. We have not even discussed this yet.... The main point for us are the peasants' interests, not the pursuit of power at any price.

[Konovalov] This being the case, are you not perturbed by the recent emergence in your ranks of people who until only yesterday were far removed from agrarian problems but had gained a reputation as politicians, like Isakov for example....

[Lapshin] Yes, he is well known for his political activity. But we, and I personally, also know him as an active member of our agrarian faction. He did some sound work on various draft laws and earned himself a reputation as a skilled legal expert. There was a lot of talk about his candidacy at our party congress, he was made to take the floor, and he gave assurances that he would utilize all his legal knowledge for the elaboration of our proposals and of draft documents on the countryside's problems.

[Konovalov] And why has writer Rasputin disappeared from the list of your candidates?

[Lapshin] It so happened that we could not get hold of him personally at the last stage, when he had to actually sign, we had only talked on the telephone until then. He had gone off somewhere without leaving a forwarding address and we were unable to comply with the necessary formalities.

[Konovalov] Could you please comment on this here extract from a document entitled "Election Campaign Platform of the APR," dated 16 October of this year: "The APR deems it necessary to use all possible means in a struggle against the desecration of Russia's centuries-long history, against the implantation of Russophobia and Americanism?..."

[Lapshin] Let us compare documents. I have here the latest edition—it does not contain these words.

[Konovalov] But this one is also a widely circulated document....

[Lapshin] Yes, such documents do circulate, but now we have the latest official edition and it is the only one to be discussed. There are also lists of our candidates in circulation, where Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Starodubtsev's name also appears, something which does not correspond with reality.

[Konovalov] You have said that you were not happy with the course of reforms, that a different path, a different prescription was needed. Yet Ukraine has chosen a different, much softer option, and the results can now be compared.

[Lapshin] And who told you that Ukraine has actually implemented any reforms—soft or otherwise? I am convinced that they have not actually started there, it is nothing but convulsions. There must be an alternative to our option—I have no doubts on this account.

[Konovalov] Do you actually hope that the new parliament will promote this quest?

[Lapshin] I might well hope but, according to the draft Constitution, this parliament will not have enough powers to do so. Because of this, the way I see it, we may end up with less constructive work and more shouting and politicking. The frustrated parliament will be louder and more excited. Instead of working, people will again start fighting to get hold of the microphones and air their complaints—what else can they do? Misha Chelnokov might reappear—maybe with a different head of hair or under a different name, but the essence will be the same....

[Konovalov] How does your party appraise the 3-4 October events?

[Lapshin] At our congress, which was held mid-October, we decided not to discuss or appraise these events, believing that it was still too early to do so. My personal attitude toward the events is very complex. This was a tragedy. Nonetheless, I think that it could have been avoided.

Text Details Limits in Election Campaign

PM3011112593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 2

["Statement by the Central Electoral Commission and by the Information Court of Arbitration on the Elections to the Federation Council and Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly" dated 25 November 1993—passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission and Information Court of Arbitration, on the basis of the Statute on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993, the Statute on the Election of Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council Deputies in 1993, and the Statute on the Nationwide Vote on the Russian Federation Draft Constitution 12 December 1993, respecting the right of each electoral association and Federal Assembly candidate deputy to independently determine the form in which information connected with the election campaign is provided and its content within the framework of the airtime provided free of charge on state television and radio, /considers it necessary/to draw the attention of electoral associations and Russian Federation Federal Assembly candidate deputies to the unconditional impermissibility of their exploiting the opportunities afforded by election campaigning or by campaigning for or against the Russian Federation draft Constitution that has been submitted for a nationwide vote with a view to issuing appeals for the violent seizure of power, the violent changing of the Russian Federation's constitutional system and integrity, the fanning of ethnic or religious hatred and strife in all its forms and manifestations, the propagandizing of civil war and all forms of violence, the disclosure of information constituting a state or other secret specially protected by law, and the perpetration of other violations of Russian Federation legislation. Campaigning connected with appeals for the violation of generally accepted norms of international law, including appeals relating to the Russian Federation's relations with foreign states, is impermissible.

Candidates or electoral association representatives must devote the greater part of their speeches to their own election programs; criticism of the election programs of other candidates or electoral associations should not constitute the main content of their speeches.

In the event of candidates or electoral association representatives violating the demands envisaged by Russian Federation legislation, measures will be taken to prevent any illegal action.

The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission and the Information Court of Arbitration call on all electoral associations and Federal Assembly candidate deputies in the process of election campaigning to promote the formation of harmony in society, which will serve the interests of the Russian state and all citizens, irrespective of which electoral association or candidate deputy they vote for.

[Signed] A.B. Vengerov, chairman of the Information Court of Arbitration

N.T. Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission

[Dated] Moscow, 25 November 1993

No. 92/001

Independents Reportedly Edging Partisans

MK3011110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 85, 30 Nov 93 (Signed to press 29 Nov) p 3

[Gleb Cherkassov report in the "Candidates" column: "The Election Campaign in Single-Seat Constituencies Is Proceeding Quietly. For the Time Being]

[Text] Against the backdrop of the struggle for 225 mandates allocated to candidates from election associations, the election campaign in single-seat constituencies is proceeding fairly unobtrusively. The Central Election Commission has registered 1,567 candidates, 772 out of which are representatives of the associations participating in "party elections." The Russian Democratic Reforms Movement has fielded 67 candidates; the Civic Union, 88; New Names, 40; Cedar, 25; the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, 80; Respect and Charity, 12; the Yavlinskiy bloc, 90; and the Agrarian Party, 103. The election blocs' leaderships have decided to leave all matters related to election alignment, and mutual support and removal of candidacies to the discretion of the regions.

The impression, however, is that the Moscow partisan leadership does not possess exhaustive information about the election efforts by the regions and is not particularly capable of controlling them. Given the obvious contradictions in the programs, their place in the political spectrum and possible allies, some really weird situations could be expected to arise in relations between the Moscow leadership and the regional chapters (which is a fairly traditional phenomenon for all parties and movements). Thus, in spite of obvious mutual sympathies between the leadership of the Agrarian Party and the communists, in the provinces representatives of these movements are engaged in internecine struggle. As a rule, the "party candidates" occupy secondary positions in election slates and are known only on the regional level.

Among the independent candidates a special place belongs to representatives of parties and movements that have dropped out of the election race and also to politicians who did not wish or failed to be included into party election slates. These include Sergey Baburin, Nikolay Pavlov, Yuriy Vlasov, Konstantin Borovoy, Aleksandr Krasnov, Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, the Smena-New Policy faction of the former Supreme Soviet, and others. The corps of independent candidates, however, is dominated by representatives of the regional political and economic elite who do not need financial, ideological, or information support from Moscow.

It seems that the "independents," who are not tied down by any commitments, have better chances than the "partisans" owing to wider possibilities for election maneuvering and a better knowledge of the electorate. Furthermore, election associations have concentrated all their efforts on the 225 list mandates, not taking particular interest in the second half. Some of them may yet rue that.

Conditions, Procedure for Voting Early Explained

PM2911142993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "If Sometime, Then It Is Possible"]

[Text] Russian citizens who have decided to take part in the election can already go to their district electoral commission and vote for candidate Federation Council and State Duma deputies. But, as an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the Central Electoral Commission, only those voters who on election day—12 December—will not be at their permanent place of residence can exercise this right. Only under those circumstances can they vote ahead of schedule.

How is this done in practice? The voter votes either at the district electoral commission building (four-15 days before the election) on at the precinct electoral commission building (one-three days before the election). Needless to say, all the conditions must be provided for to ensure that there is no violation of voting secrecy.

If voters vote at the district electoral commission building, the back of the ballot paper issued to them will carry the district commission's stamp. Voters place their completed ballot papers in an envelope, which is sealed and passed on to the duty member of the district or precinct electoral commissions. After being sealed, the envelope is either stamped with the seal of the district electoral commission, or signed by two members of the precinct electoral commission.

CEC Takes Heed of MDR Criticisms of Ballot Paper

PM2911151893 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Voldemar Koreshkov: "Proposals Taken Into Account"]

[Text] The other day the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RMDR] Press Service issued a statement announcing that the RMDR had sent a resolute protest to the Central Electoral Commission on the proposed form of the second ballot paper on the election of Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma deputies.

The movement considers it impermissible to put the names of eight of the 13 electoral associations on the back of the ballot paper, since this creates unequal opportunities for them in the 12 December 1993 vote. In order to create equal conditions the RMDR proposed putting the names of all electoral associations without exception and the first three names from their lists on one side only of the ballot paper, and also—taking account of the experience of the Russian State Duma elections in the early part of the century and existing world practice—to place before the name of each electoral association the ordinal number of its list.

Aleksandr Ivanchenko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, has reported that these comments and proposals have been examined. The form of ballot paper sent out to the localities is a four-page brochure, indicating on the inside page the names of all electoral associations and the first three names from the registered lists of candidates. The ordinal number of each association is given in alphabetical order.

Electoral Commission Explains Voting Procedure

PM3011112993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Fill It in Correctly and Drop it in the Ballot Box"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has given instructions on the procedure for filling in ballot papers for the elections to the Federal Assembly and the voting on the draft Russian Federation Constitution.

Each voter at the polling station will receive four ballot papers. The first is for voting in the election of Federal Assembly Federation Council deputies. The electoral districts in this case are formed on the territory of the components of the Russian Federation and in cities of federal importance. Two deputies who have collected the largest number of votes compared with the others will be elected from each district.

Each voter can put a mark against the names of two candidates or only in the box marked "against all candidates." In any other case the ballot paper is deemed invalid.

Almost the same principle (the second ballot paper) will operate in voting for the one-seat electoral district in elections to the Federal Assembly State Duma (225 people are to be elected). Only in this case a mark must be put against the name of one candidate or in the box marked "against all candidates." The remaining conditions are the same.

In the former and latter cases elections are considered valid if 25 or more percent of registered voters have gone to the polls.

The remaining 225 members of the State Duma (the third ballot paper) are elected from lists of associations listed in the ballot paper. Each party or electoral association will receive seats in the State Duma in proportion to the number of votes they receive. The only condition is that they should comprise at least 5 percent of the votes.

The fourth ballot paper will put a single question: "Do you accept the Russian Federation Constitution?" If the voter votes for it he crosses out "no." If he is against it he crosses out "yes." If the two words are left as they are or are both crossed out the paper is invalid.

Papers Call For Election Debate on Military Reform

PM2911162793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 8

[Unattributed "Editorial Viewpoint" article: "Future Parliamentarians Must Tackle Military Reform"]

[Text] Newspaper pages and television screens are bursting with candidates' election promises. At the same time, in the programs of virtually all the contenders for seats as deputies one of the most important stipulations for Russia's civilized development—military reform—is either completely lacking or else it is prescribed in weak terms.

Or is it that there is complete order in this sphere already? Has military expenditure been brought into line with the very real requirements of the state? Has the conversion of defense enterprises been completed? Have conditions for the military service draft been worked out to perfection? Alas, no. The "Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine" adopted recently by the Russian Federation Security Council merely proclaim the "maintenance of the country's defense capabilities at a level commensurate with existing and potential military threats." But what does this mean in practice? How in fact will the intention to safeguard defense capability "with due account of the country's economic possibilities and the availability of human resources" be realized?

This in itself essentially constitutes a subject for a deputy's question, and it is to be hoped that it will be raised without delay in the new parliament. But to judge by the election debates, the parties and blocs, not to mention autonomous contenders for a mandate, are not overly concerned with military reform.

Television appearances by politicians dreaming of a place in the State Duma are completely devoid of such utterances as, say, the following: "Yes, the Army needs literate soldiers capable of handling serious hardware. But society is in equal need of genuine physicists, mathematicians, and humanitarians. The outcome of combat operations today is defined not only by regular personnel strength, but first and foremost by modern technology. Therefore, in no civilized country are the people who will be developing this technology tomorrow—that is, the students—called up for military service, but rather they are left to study. So tell me, why is it that in our country there is universal compulsory military service? You know, civic duty can be carried out not only by turning up at the draft center on being summoned, but also by means of a voluntary contract which the student, worker, or whoever might be capable of concluding if he so desired."

Military reform is needed. The election campaign and the referendum on a new Constitution give politicians and society an opportunity to express themselves clearly and unequivocally on this score.

Voting Slated for Countries With Diplomatic Posts

LD2911175293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1656 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Voting in elections to the Federal Assembly will be organized in all countries where Russia has its diplomatic missions. There have already been 259 polling stations set up abroad, the deputy chairman of the electoral commission formed by Russia's Foreign Ministry, Yuriy Popov, told Interfax.

Voting will even take place in Switzerland, whose legislation does not provide for such a necessity, he said. As a result of such legislation, "the Swiss blocked the holding of April's referendum at Russian diplomatic missions, but now have met our request. As a result, Russian citizens in Switzerland will not have to travel to France or Germany to vote for one candidate or another," Popov said.

According to him, until recently it was not clear whether Russian nationals in Algeria would be able to take part in December's elections or not because of fears connected with the campaign of terror against foreigners being waged by local fundamentalists. "However, upon consultations with our embassy and with the "competent" agencies, it was decided—on the condition of complete safety for our citizens—to organize voting in the Russian Embassy," the diplomat said.

In some localities, elections to the Federal Assembly will not take place on December 12, but two or three days earlier, he added. "This will occur in some Muslim countries where Sunday is a working day," he explained.

In the former Soviet republics only those ethnic Russians who have officially acquired Russian citizenship will be able to vote, Popov pointed out. "An exception will be made for those who filed their applications for Russian citizenship but failed to receive it for some technical reason. It seems that there will be few cases of this kind," he noted.

With reference to the problems his commission has to deal with, Popov singled out the delivery of ballots to the localities to which diplomatic mail is despatched only once a month. "I have no doubt that this problem will be resolved. As a matter of fact, this is what the Foreign Ministry set up our commission for," he said.

Ryabov Turns Down Live Televised Election Returns

MK3011092093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "In Brief" column: "Central Electoral Commission Takes No Part in the Show"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission [CEC], advised yesterday that the CEC had regarded negatively the idea for having a live "Power-94" ["Vlast-94"] program on the night of 13-14 December. Its organizers are "Ostankino," and Tamara Maksimova's "TV-Neva" with the backing of the president's staff and the Federal Information Center. It was supposed that leaders of the electoral associations registered for the elections would, in front of the whole country, watch as their electoral support grew or waned as preliminary voting returns come in from the regions. It is these preliminary figures that the Central Electoral Commission did not want to lend an official nature to, and declined to arrange their transmission to the Grand Kremlin Palace. As Mr. Ryabov stated, "the CEC made a decision to take no part in this show" because, according to him, it is dangerous when an action of state importance is turned into a sort of buffoonery.

Military Issues

General Discusses Status of Nuclear Arsenal

PM2611130193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel General Ye.P. Maslin, chief of the Defense Ministry's 12th Main Directorate, by Colonel Oleg Falichev; place and date not given: "Who Has the Keys to the Nuclear Arsenal"]

[Text] Yevgeniy Petrovich Maslin was born 20 May 1937 in the village of Novo-Tomnikovo, Tambov Oblast. After graduating from school, he entered Leningrad's S.M. Budennyy Communications Academy. He began serving in nuclear-technical units in 1959 in the post of engineer. He was chief of a group, chief of a section, chief engineer of a combined unit, commander of a combined unit, and first deputy chief of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense 12th Main Directorate.

Since 1992 he has been chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry main directorate. He is a colonel general.

He is married with two children.

[Falichev] Yevgeniy Petrovich, the Defense Ministry's 12th Main Directorate has long remained closed, as it were. Few people even among the military knew anything about it....

[Maslin] After the United States dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, the Soviet leadership adopted the decision to create nuclear weapons as quickly as possible. A special department of the General Staff was formed in 1947 for the purpose of conducting tests and working out questions of troop nuclear protection. The order to set it up was signed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Aleksandr Vasilevskiy 4 September 1947. Recently that date was adopted as our troops' annual festival. So we will soon be celebrating our 50th anniversary.

Our troops carried out and still carry out the maintenance, storage, servicing, and transportation of nuclear munitions. Now they are also tackling their salvaging. In accordance with the second stage of the military reform, the structure, aims, and tasks of our units and combined units are changing. We are having to disband them in nearby foreign countries and to provide facilities on Russian territory for the officers and ensigns returning from there.

But whereas in Belarus and Kazakhstan they really are under Russia's jurisdiction and our country exercises full control over the servicing of munitions and is responsible for nuclear safety, on Ukrainian territory the picture is absolutely different....

[Falichev] We will come back to the situation with regard to nuclear weapons in Ukraine. But for now please specify: In what quantities do nuclear warheads still remain in the republics?

[Maslin] There are approximately 3,000 strategic nuclear warheads in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan today.

[Falichev] What can you say about Russian warheads? What conditions, for example, are imposed today on their storage in accordance with warranty periods?

[Maslin] Until recently Russia had several tens of thousands of nuclear munitions in its arsenal. Both for tactical weapons systems and for strategic ones. The process of arms reduction is now under way. It has long been a "floating" figure, you understand. The weight of the warheads ranges between tens of kilograms (for nuclear artillery) and several hundred kilograms. The highest-yielding nuclear munitions can weigh several tonnes. They all have a strictly defined period of serviceability and in the process of maintenance are checked for conformity with the demands of classification documents once a year, once every two years, three years, and so on.

[Falichev] Have there been any dramatic incidents during the storage and transportation of munitions? This question appears particularly important in connection with the rumors which have spread about the possibility of nuclear terrorism on the planet and the sale of atom bombs to third countries. How strict, in general, has the recording of nuclear munitions been in our country?

[Maslin] There has always been a danger of warheads being stolen. This not only still exists but has even increased with the breakup of the Soviet Union. You understand perfectly what this is linked with. The unstable political situation, military conflicts in individual regions.... All this provokes certain high-ranking leaders into making statements of various kinds. Like the one that General Dudayev made not so long ago: He claims to have nuclear munitions in Chechnya. But the system of storage and maintenance prevailing in our country (it was not created by stupid people) has made it possible not to have any emergencies involving nuclear munitions in more than 40 years. Unlike the United States, for example, when warheads were lost off the coast of Spain. Such a thing has not happened to us (knock on wood)....

It is a rather complex matter to say that we have or have not overtaken the United States in stockpiling nuclear munitions. Why? The quantitative parameters of warheads have never been the determining factor. Both the United States and we have created various types, but both sides—primarily we—have striven for parity. Certain nuclear munitions prevailed there, and certain ones here. But it is quite a complex matter to say that the USSR had more of them, still less in summary equivalent.

It is not even a question of yields. Nuclear weapons are quite specific. They possess different parameters and damage-producing elements. Therefore it evidently was not by chance that political leaders realized, when the time of parity had come, that so much had been stockpiled, in all, that there would be no victors in a war. It was then that the very ideology of the SALT I and SALT II Treaties and of the recent nuclear arms reduction initiatives of Russia and the United States came into being.

[Falichev] It is known that different viewpoints on START II still exist in our society. Was everything weighed up and taken into account when it was concluded? To what extent does it accord with our national interests? It is no secret that heavy ICBM's, the basis of our nuclear triad, are to be reduced....

[Maslin] Yes, the START II Treaty has caused a lot of all sorts of talk: It is advantageous—not advantageous.... I, for example, am convinced that in this situation it fully suits us, although it was never ratified by the Supreme Soviet. I disagree with the opinion that we made a lot of concessions when we signed it. Quite a serious comparative analysis exists. With facts and figures. It proves that we have not lost out. Yes, our heavy missiles, which the United States feared most, are being eliminated. Naturally, there are not only pluses to this. But on the whole, I will emphasize once again, it fully suits us....

[Falichev] In eliminating heavy missiles are we keeping anything in exchange? For the United States surpasses us in terms of sea-launched missiles, does it not?

[Maslin] New approaches and new views on the problem of disarmament have already matured in society, although not all that much time has elapsed since the end of the "Cold War." In a recent television address President Clinton spoke of the need for the United States to draw up a new nuclear strategy. Scientists and political experts are asking this question: How many nuclear munitions are needed in all? We too are working on this now. A world nuclear war, it has to be thought, is unlikely.

At the same time I would like to warn against populist decisions. Nuclear weapons will long remain weapons of deterrence, to avert aggression.

[Falichev] In ridding themselves of the nuclear monsters, our compatriots are evidently reckoning on at last breathing freely, freed from the burden of military expenditure. But the salvaging of such weapons also requires huge financial investment. Would it not be simpler to leave these mountains of warheads in some storehouses for the time being?

[Maslin] It is not all that simple. This is the first time in history that nuclear munitions have been salvaged in such quantities, and there are no analogues for this. Therefore it was necessary to elaborate conceptual studies and a scientific base. Not to mention bases for dismantling, storage.... Alas, large special premises are needed to store fissionable materials, and they must be reliably protected and guarded. For the half-life of plutonium is 24,000 years. Nobody knows yet how to utilize it for peaceful purposes. This is now, you will agree, not only a universal problem but also our national one. We do not yet have storehouses which would satisfy all the requirements and norms of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Therefore all countries with an interest in the safe destruction of our nuclear weapons are investing funds in this to the extent that they are able. I mean the United States, Britain, France, and Germany.

This means millions of dollars. A framework agreement on the safe transportation, storage, and destruction of nuclear weapons was signed during the Russian-U.S. meeting in Washington 17 June 1992. We will be supplied with special containers for fissile materials alone to the value of $50 million. The rest includes sets of protective clothing, Saber-1 radio systems, equipment for access to broken-down [avariynyy] items, a computer network, protective coatings....

In time we also intend, jointly with the United States, to process and sell high-grade uranium. In any case there could be a sizable economic advantage in the long term as a result of reducing the number of warheads. For the United States spends $10 billion a year on maintaining its nuclear potential at the present level! And we? Draw your own conclusions....

As for the warheads, it is simply dangerous to keep them longer than the warranty period. For they also contain conventional explosives. After approximately 10 years' storage these start to crack, to change their physical and chemical properties.... All this can lead to various consequences. Take, for example, those prebreakdown [predavariynyy] warheads on Ukrainian territory. Why has hydrogen—this explosive mixture—started exuding from them? Scientists will have to conduct a special investigation....

[Falichev] But it turns out, does it not, the way I understand it, that Russia no longer has the right to answer for nuclear safety in Ukraine?

[Maslin] How can we answer for it, if our units are not there, if we have not known the actual state of affairs since 1992? The press writes a great deal about the fate of nuclear warheads in Ukraine. In what condition are they? Are they all present and correct, or are they wandering somewhere around Iran and Iraq? Here is an extract from the Syrian newspaper AL-BA'TH, which says that they have a Ukrainian nuclear munition and that five Ukrainian officers are now instructing them in how to use this weapon. How are we to regard this?

Ukraine, you know, still has more than 600 nuclear warheads of air-launched cruise missiles and approximately 1,200 warheads on SS-19 and SS-24 missiles. The warranty periods for the storage of many of them ended long ago, and technical servicing is not being carried out.... All this cannot fail to pose dangers. It was not for nothing that the chief designers traveled to Ukraine in September at the request of its leadership in connection with an increase in temperature in one of the nuclear storehouses in the city of Pervomaysk. They were simply horrified at the number of violations of safety procedures and at the fact that the norms for loading warheads into the storehouses are exceeded by six to eight times.

Our new military doctrine is quite transparent and clear in this regard and sets the world community no riddles.

[Falichev] Does it define questions of the procedure for using nuclear weapons? For, despite all its "democraticness," for long years the U.S. military doctrine permitted the first use of nuclear weapons. This remains so even now. What is the situation in our country?

[Maslin] The point about not being the first to use nuclear weapons has now been excluded from our military doctrine. I believe that it is not for a military person to say or not say that we will not be the first to use them. If you have weapons and you are defending yourself, not attacking, then all questions fall away of their own accord. As a rule, it all starts with conventional weapons: Nuclear electric power stations are destroyed, and nuclear munitions are put out of action. This could contaminate large areas. So is this already nuclear war or not?

[Falichev] The final question, Yevgeniy Petrovich. Military inspectors from Western countries are now traveling quite freely about our test sites and military plants. Do we and, in particular, your department have any military secrets left?

[Maslin] U.S. inspectors do not visit our nuclear arsenals or plants for the production of nuclear munitions. Nor do we visit theirs, by the way. There is a definite reason for this—for our countries have modern armed forces, and the concept of military secrets has not disappeared. We sign corresponding agreements and fulfill them—which is sufficient. Finally, we have experience of mutual verification of fulfillment of the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.... The factor of mutual trust has played not the least role in their fulfillment. As for verification, it can be carried out by various means. This is being done in practice.

I will emphasize once again: No foreigner has visited our nuclear arsenals. Here it must be a question not so much of

keeping military secrets as of mutual trust, without which a real reduction in the nuclear danger is impossible.

Analyst Sees Possible First Nuclear Strike Option

LD2911194193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Russia will never regain the physical military superiority it has enjoyed throughout its history, said a top military analyst.

Sergey Rogov, president of the Center for National Security and International Relations, commenting on Russia's new military doctrine at a news conference on Monday, said the nation would henceforth regard its nuclear weapons as a means of preventing not only nuclear aggression but also an attack made using conventional arms. He said none of Russia's neighbors except for Finland had signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, so they have not made the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. According to its new doctrine, this meant that Russia might become the first to deliver a nuclear strike, he said.

Rogov said that today there was one officer to each soldier in the Russia's military, which he described as a unique fact. It might well happen that next year the Russian forces would have more officers than soldiers, a factor which would not raise their combat efficiency, he said.

Rogov said purchases of armaments for the Russian armed services had been reduced by 78 percent this year compared to last year's, but military expenditure nevertheless remained a heavy burden.

Recycling of Surplus Missile Fuel Advocated

PM2911151393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Matyash: "A Lot of Things, Even Medicine, Can Be Made From Missile Fuel If State Finds Funds"]

[Text] A tonne of heptyl costs 5 million rubles in current prices. The implementation of international treaties cutting missiles has left 200,000 tonnes of this and other missile fuel components surplus to requirements in Russia. The problems of draining, transporting, and storing them have recently become, to coin a phrase, glaring. Just what is to be done with this expensive missile fuel? It is impossible to use it in the national economy in unadulterated form. Should it be destroyed or burned off? That would be too wasteful.

"The most acceptable decision would be to recycle it, processing the missile fuel components into production and technical products or scarce materials," Major General Pavel Gorupay, chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's Central Directorate for Missile Fuel, said. "But this is a very labor-intensive process which will take time to organize. Moreover, the state has not yet allocated the funds to set up the processing installations."

In their desire to win state-financed orders, our own firms and foreign firms have started putting forward joint projects. Some of these, geared toward rapid implementation, have already met with support from the Russian Federation Defense Ministry leadership and have even been included in the draft federal program to recycle armaments and military hardware. Certain projects are being examined and discussed. Some of them were submitted to a conference at the Defense Ministry's Central Directorate for Missile Fuel.

Representatives of the "Kraskhimmash" Science and Production Complex, the Krasnoyarsk Machine Building Plant state enterprise, and the Applied Chemistry RNTs [expansion unknown] in particular have demonstrated the experience that already exists of reprocessing missile fuel. The range of materials and products that have already been obtained from processing heptyl is very extensive—biostimulators, corrosion inhibitors, additives for fuels and lubricants used in internal combustion engines, and even medicines. Many petrochemical enterprises could produce these items. It is merely a question of funding.

But even given our shortage of time, there is clearly no point in rushing to issue promissory notes. Specialists and experts will still have to weigh up and compare everything and make an objective and full assessment of all the projects and proposals in order to ensure that the state's interests prevail, rather than those of some corporation or department.

Kokoshin Grants Interview on Military Doctrine

BR2911130393 Paris LE FIGARO in French 27/28 Nov 93 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin by Laure Mandeville in Moscow; date not given: "Andrey Kokoshin: 'NATO Is No Panacea'"]

[Text] In 1992, Andrey Kokoshin was the first civilian to reach the position of first deputy minister of defense of Russia. He arrives in Paris today to discuss the development of technical-military cooperation between France and Russia.

[Mandeville] Russia has just adopted a new military doctrine. Why the urgency?

[Kokoshin] Russia has been working on its military doctrine for a long time. In May 1992, a conference was held at the general headquarters Academy to discuss all aspects relative to the doctrine. What was finally published merely reflects the main directions of the tremendous amount of work done on the construction of the Russian armed forces and on the economic context in which this construction will take place.

[Mandeville] You are in charge of the industrial aspects of military policy. How do you reconcile the technical requirements of a modern army with the massive social needs of your military personnel?

[Kokoshin] By making savings! We have cut some of our weapons orders by a factor of three. Today, 80 percent of the 200,000 companies in the military-industrial complex are producing for the civil market. In the past, the ratio between weapons purchasing and army operating expenditure was two to one. That ratio has now been reversed: 23 percent of spending is on weapons, with the rest going to operating costs and housing.

[Mandeville] Is combat capacity suffering?

[Kokoshin] What has been reduced drastically is the amount of weapons purchased from the defense industry. Whereas in 1988 we were buying about 2,800 tanks a year, today we buy just 150. However, it is difficult to keep the army supplied with modern technology. We are therefore banking on preserving our scientific potential so that, when we are wealthier, we will have something to equip our troops with.

[Mandeville] Officers at the Sevastopol naval base say that they no longer have enough money to continue performing exercises at sea.

[Kokoshin] Sevastopol is a rather special case, since the port falls under the joint command of Ukraine and Russia. The Ukrainians do not have any money, so everything has to be paid for by the Russian Army. We are trying to maintain combat capacity, keep our ships at sea and our planes in the air. However, now we count every liter of gas, whereas under the Communists there was enormous waste.

[Mandeville] Since the bloody events of October, Russia has expressed its hostility at the broadening of NATO. Yet, last August, President Yeltsin accepted Poland's entry into NATO.

[Kokoshin] I think that the Balladur plan for stability in Europe is very interesting, since it provides for a transition period for countries that want to join NATO. The decision is first and foremost theirs and NATO's, but I believe in a balanced and considered approach wherever the enlargement of any bloc is concerned. In this way, the Balladur plan appears to me to be a wise variant on the theme. I also believe that the CSCE has not yet exhausted all of its possibilities, and the same goes for the other regional approaches, such as the Nordic group. There is also the collective security system of the CIS that has formed around Russia.

[Mandeville] On several occasions, Russia has talked of joining NATO. Does it still have this intention?

[Kokoshin] Certain specialists propose the idea of an integral security system realized by the denuclearization of an area stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok. I think that the chances of success, and therefore of stability, would be much greater if we retained a system that took other security structures into account. NATO and the WEU [Western European Union]—a very interesting organization that is becoming increasingly important—; NATO and the European Community; and the EEC and the CSCE. If we assign to a single structure functions that were not meant for it, we would risk major political failure and even a great tragedy. There is no panacea.

[Mandeville] Many western analysts consider that Russia has interests in the Caucasus and that it would try to defend them militarily.

[Kokoshin] As a civilian in an almost exclusively military environment, I must stress that military personnel are often more prudent than diplomats. They know perfectly well that, if they are involved in conflicts, it is they who have to take responsibility for the deaths of their soldiers. In the past, four members of the Politburo could send the army into Afghanistan without ever having to justify the thousands of deaths that ensued. Today's democratic Russian society does not remain indifferent to the death of its citizens. The former Soviet republics are continuously asking for Russian soldiers to come to their aid. Their demands are insistent, sometimes even desperate. Accusations of the rebirth of Russian imperialism are therefore astounding. Of course we have interests in these regions, but these are the interests of any civilized state—a little like France's interests in black Africa.

[Mandeville] The Ukrainian parliament has finally ratified the START I Treaty, but refuses to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. What is your reaction to this?

[Kokoshin] I do not approve. If Ukraine has the status of a nonnuclear state, then it should sign the nonproliferation treaty. We will arrive at an agreement if we are not troubled by the rest of the world. We must discuss these problems peaceably and calmly as neighbors. Almost like between members of a family. For when we are performing poorly economically, Ukraine will be in an even more desperate situation.

[Mandeville] Your new military doctrine plans to use the army for policing operations. Does this not go against the Army's wish to "keep out of politics?"

[Kokoshin] It happens in other countries. I was in the United States in 1971 when the 182d Parachute Division was called in to deal with internal unrest. The Army must not be the object of political struggles, but it remains an instrument of the state if, in extreme cases, the state is threatened.

[Mandeville] The army helped Boris Yeltsin crush the rebellion in the parliament. Did this not increase its political weight?

[Kokoshin] Russia inherited a large part of the Soviet armed forces. Nevertheless, colossal changes are now underway. We are reducing these forces, redeploying

them, pulling them out of Eastern Europe in unprecedented proportions. Between now and August, all Russian forces will have pulled out of Germany. You must understand that, in these conditions, special attention must be paid to the armed forces. Otherwise the army is likely to be transformed from a factor of stability into a factor of instability. Before, we were happy just to repeat slogans such as "the unity of the people and the army", but the armed forces were faced with a very difficult hardware situation. My father was a colonel, but he never got his own apartment. Today we are building more military housing units than were built in the last years of the Communist regime, but we still need another 120,000 apartments, and this figure will increase as our troops start to return home. Of the 80,000 homes initially planned, we will only build 65,000 this year.

Reaction to New Military Doctrine Reported

Shaposhnikov Comments

LD2711192893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] One of the leaders of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov believes that the Russian military doctrine had been adopted "not at the right time." According to him, the primary task was to strengthen and to confirm concepts of the state system and national security and thereafter to work out a military doctrine based on them.

"We build a kitchen without having a general plan of the house and then we will add a bedroom and other rooms," Shaposhnikov remarked.

Speaking at a meeting between the movement's leaders and the party's candidates from the single-mandate constituencies, the marshal said that the "only good point" of the military doctrine adopted by the Russian Federation Security Council was the part of its title "Main provisions of the concept." In his opinion, this is to say that the document must be submitted for additional review.

The marshal pointed out that the proclaimed reform in the army was not a success due to the discord in the Defense Ministry and, in particular, to the arguments on the type and amount of military equipment needed for the Armed Forces.

On the period of his work as a secretary of the Russian federation Security Council, Shaposhnikov pointed out that in the circles close to Boris Yeltsin there were "many people working not for the authority of the president and the state but for the sake of their own authority and private aims."

Nuclear Deterrence Seen as 'Backbone'

LD2911173793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1658 GMT 29 Nov 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—"Russia might initiate the use of nuclear weapons under certain conditions. This is envisaged in its military doctrine which has proclaimed the nuclear deterrence to be the backbone of its military policy and the means of deterring not only nuclear but conventional wars as well. At the same time Russia pledges not to use nuclear weapons first," said Professor Sergey Rogov, deputy director of the Institute for the U.S. and Canada Studies and president of the Centre of National Security and International Relations at a news conference held in the Russo-American information centre on Monday.

Rogov said that the document reflects a more open approach to problems of national security than the one earlier practiced by the soviet political and military leadership. Rogov described such an approach as "a tangible step in declarative nuclear strategy."

Radio Commentary Views Doctrine

LD3011133593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Commentary by Boris Belitskiy]

[Text] The arrival in Moscow of the defense minister of Kuwait, Shaykh 'Ali [Sabah al-Salim] al-Sabah, for a 5-day official visit has once again focused attention on Russia's new military doctrine. Here's Boris Belitskiy on some of the points of this doctrine.

[Begin Belitskiy recording] One of the main complaints of Russia's Defense Minister Pavel Grachev at all top level meetings up to now was that the country still had no duly approved military doctrine. True, it really never had one in all the 75 years of the Soviet system. Military policy was then shaped merely by the speeches of the current leaders at various congresses. This month, at long last, such a doctrine has been adopted, or at any rate a document entitled as its basic principles, with only five pages missing for reasons of understandable military secrecy.

Three of the basic principles stand out as being indeed of fundamental importance. The first of these is the clearly stated defensive character of the new doctrine. Probably for the first time in the country's history, the top priority in its military thinking is the defense of the people's interests. I quote from the document: The Russian Federation shall not use its armed forces for purposes other than individual or collective self-defense, if there is an armed attack on the Russian Federation, its citizens, territory, armed forces, or other troops or allies—end of quotes.

The second important novel point in the new doctrine is that it no longer defines a principal adversary. Gone are the cliches and stereotypes of the Cold War days. The

principle source of the war danger today is seen in the new document as, and again I quote, the suppression of the rights, freedoms, and legitimate interests of citizens of the Russian Federation in other states, and attacks on military installations of the armed forces of the Russian Federation on the territory of foreign states.

Finally, the third novel point in the doctrine is Russia's readiness to participate in international peacekeeping operations. This is a point particularly welcome to countries like Kuwait, who feel threatened by aggressively inclined neighbors, and it provides the basis for the conclusion of an agreement on military cooperation between the two countries. Contracts on military supplies may be expected too as a result of the present visit.

During his recent visit to the military-industrial center Tula, south of Moscow, President Boris Yeltsin admitted that it had been a big mistake that Russia had withdrawn from the world arms markets.

One of the more controversial points in the new doctrine is the transfer to the Army of some of the functions of the Interior Ministry. It must now be prepared to fight not only external enemies but also internal ones, such as secessionists, saboteurs, and terrorists. On the one hand this seems a correct step; the police must have a backup force in an emergency—last month's events in Moscow made that crystal clear—but on the other hand there are those who feel this might give the Defense Ministry too big a role in domestic politics.

However, the new military doctrine has yet to be approved by the new parliament to be elected next month, and changes in it must not be ruled out. [end recording]

Roundtable Views Doctrine, Reform

MK2711140093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[L.I.-signed report: "The Cow Is Not a Ballet Dancer, Fundamentals Are Not a Doctrine"]

[Text] This is the conclusion that can be drawn from the heated two-day "roundtable" discussion called "Army and Politics," which ended yesterday. Participants in the meeting— scientists, politicians, military specialists— discussed the extent to which our military policy corresponds to Russia's current interests. Since these interests have not yet been clearly formulated in a single official document, many speakers insisted that the recently published "Fundamentals of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine" cannot be called a full-blown doctrine. Diametrically opposed views were also expressed. One thing the participants agreed upon, however, was that the Defense Ministry should not be given full powers in shaping military policy, because military reform affects the entire state.

Deputy Defense Minister Explains Discipline Order

PM2911112193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, deputy defense minister: "Without Organization and Orderliness It Is Impossible To Build a New Army"]

[Text] Discussions about the relationship between democracy and discipline in the Armed Forces may already be in the past. Today it has finally become clear that without discipline, organization, and orderliness you cannot construct an army. How difficult it would have been to create this had we not comprehended the changes that have taken place in servicemen's consciousness or the emergence in society of new outlooks on life. All this could not fail to be taken into account by the military administrative organs in their work of strengthening military discipline. But on the basis of which directives? Recently, on 18 November, Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev signed an order "On Measures To Maintain Orderliness and Military Discipline in the Russian Federation Armed Forces."

The publication of this order on military discipline is not really news for military men. Suffice it to say that until recently a number of normative documents used to operate simultaneously, which introduced a certain difficulty into the work of Army and Navy officials. These have now been rescinded and we now have a single basic directive.

The need to publish a new order has come about because the principles and approaches to forming a sense of discipline in servicemen and strengthening the actual discipline of the Russian Armed Forces has changed radically. At the same time a number of basic principles of military indoctrination and practical work involving the formation of a sense of discipline in servicemen, which are traditional in our Army, have been reflected in the new order.

This is probably the first normative act in the sphere of military discipline whose preparation has involved such a broad circle of experts and military men with practical experience. How has the work gone? A working group was set up at the beginning of the year by special order of the defense minister. It included generals and officers from Armed Forces branches of service, combat arms, and main and central directorates with the best legal training and a wealth of Army experience. Military legal experts and the scientific resources of higher educational establishments and scientific research institutes were actively enlisted for this work. The opinions of Army and Navy circles were taken into account.

In the course of its work the working group received approximately 11,000 proposals which were examined carefully and many of which are reflected in the new document.

In formulating the new order, attention was principally focused on the creation of a new system of organizational and legal backup for military discipline and orderliness. At the same time it was important to link this closely with the internal political and economic situation in the state and the foreign policy aspects of Russian security.

In the order, the main task and aim of organizational and indoctrination work to strengthen orderliness and military discipline is defined as the maximum boosting of combat readiness and the provision of social and legal protection for every serviceman. It is stressed that in the present conditions a high level of organization and discipline can only be achieved if the fundamental principle of military organizational development is strengthened and developed—namely the consolidation of the one-man command principle on a strict legal basis.

As guidelines, we have formulated new approaches in our work on strengthening discipline and orderliness in the Armed Forces, primarily legal and social backup and the codification of strictly prescribed relations between servicemen.

We have also formulated and introduced new criteria for assessing the state of military discipline. The order gives military administrative organs at all levels greater freedom in the work they do to eliminate the causes and conditions that give rise to crimes and incidents. At the same time officials' responsibility for the quality of organizational work designed to establish orderliness and discipline is being stepped up, as is their responsibility for observing servicemen's rights and personal dignity which are established by laws, military regulations, and other normative acts.

The order articulates a demand for the unconditional supremacy of the law in the life and activity of the troops and the everyday work of military administrative organs and officials. This principle will be an extremely important factor in prompting servicemen and commanders (chiefs) to tailor their actions and behavior to the requirements of the law.

The order makes it compulsory for leading officials and commanders (chiefs) to strictly observe the rights and social guarantees envisaged by Russian Federation legislation, as well as the principles of social justice in military service relations. Punctilious and comprehensive execution of the said norm is designed to create objective preconditions for raising the level of discipline, orderliness, and combat readiness among troops. After all, life itself demonstrates that if we rest our hopes on the strength of orders demanding "consolidation," "improvement," and "increases" without implementing real legal and social protection for servicemen, these demands will remain empty declarations.

I would also like to note one particular feature of the new normative document. It clearly defines and fleshes out the duties of the various military administrative organs and indoctrination structures with regard to the maintenance of orderliness and the consolidation of military discipline. The main areas for improving the activity of military commissariats have been formulated, as has the organization of their mutual relations with local administrative organs and the provision of manpower for the Armed Forces having the necessary moral, business, and professional qualities and physical health.

In response to the wishes of the vast majority of officers in the Russian Armed Forces, the order defines a norm designed to disallow unjustified punishment of commanders (chiefs) for offenses committed by their subordinates. It has been established that henceforth the degree to which officials will be held liable for offenses committed by subordinates will only be determined if there is an interim ruling on the basis of the results of an administrative investigation (an inquiry, preliminary investigation, or trial) regarding the extent to which their personal action or inaction contributed to the offense.

The procedure for recording and reporting on military discipline is also being simplified. Instead of the first and second lists of crimes and incidents that exist at the present time, a single list is being introduced—"The Special List of Crimes and Incidents"—which will be reported to the Russian Federation defense minister. The order defines the procedure for submitting reports and dispatches regarding crimes, incidents, and gross disciplinary violations in the Army and Navy. It introduces an instruction on the procedure for recording crimes, incidents, and gross disciplinary violations.

At the same time it should be stressed that even the best normative act will not by itself improve the disciplinary state of affairs unless all military administrative organs carry out painstaking work to implement it on a daily basis. We assign a major role in this task to the mass media and the Army press.

The order "On Measures To Maintain Orderliness and Discipline in the Russian Federation Armed Forces" comes fully into effect from 1 January 1994. This is no accident. In the time remaining before this deadline, organizational and indoctrination methods must be used to to clarify the essence of the new requirements, organize study of the order, and test servicemen on their knowledge of the normative acts regulating military discipline.

More on Defense Ministry Collegium Session 29 Nov

PM3011135593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate: "Defense Ministry Collegium Session"]

[Text] A session of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Collegium was held 29 November to examine a number of urgent issues.

The collegium analyzed the results of the Russian Federation's military (defense) cooperation with nearby foreign states and defined the Russian Defense Ministry's

tasks in this sphere for next year. It was emphasized, in particular, that as a result of joint work by the Russian Federation Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs a normative-legal base for military-political and military-technical cooperation with states which were republics of the former USSR and also a collective security system have, on the whole, been created. During the talks, progress was made in resolving problems of observance of political and juridical rights and social guarantees for Russian servicemen temporarily serving on the territory of these states, for members of their families, and for pensioners of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry.

At the same time, it was pointed out that, taking Russia's strategic interests into account, there are still quite a few unsettled questions in this sphere. For example, the talks with the leadership of the Estonian Republic, the Latvian Republic, and the Republic of Moldova on questions connected with the legal status of the Russian military formations temporarily on the territories of these states and with the procedure and timing of their withdrawal are proceeding in a rather complex manner. The conditions and the procedure for fulfilling the international Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms have not been determined in full with Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Agreements with a number of other states require amplification and additional elaboration.

The collegium outlined a number of specific Defense Ministry measures aimed at further developing and improving military cooperation and activating the Russian Federation treaty process with nearby foreign states.

The Russian Defense Ministry Collegium session also examined questions of reforming military education, the need to improve the system of educational work in the Army and Navy, and the selection and placing of officer cadres during the period of reforming and building the Russian Armed Forces.

Government Tackles Defense Industry Issues

PM2911113793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Yegorov: "Military-Industrial Complex Problems Need Solving"]

[Text] It turns out that the state's top people spent the whole of 25 November discussing and tackling problems connected with the country's defenses. A Security Council session in the Kremlin, chaired by President B. Yeltsin, discussed the future of the defense complex. A Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium session discussed the defense order for 1994.

It was stressed at the Security Council session that the nearly 2,000 defense complex enterprises that constitute the backbone of the Russian military-industrial complex and represent a list of the "critical technologies" that a great power must have will be preserved at all costs. There are ways of doing this, including gearing enterprises to dual-purpose technologies, which can ensure the production of both military and civilian products (fighters and civil aircraft and surface-effect vehicles; warships and ships for civilian purposes; "military" electronics and electronic consumer goods, and so on).

Although there is nothing new in this defense industry coversion policy, it should be said that in the present conditions the Security Council's decision inspires confidence that words are being transformed into action. This confidence stems from President B. Yeltsin's stance, which has unequivocally indicated support for the defense industry of late. The transformation of the Russian Defense Industry Committee into a State Committee; the trip to Tula, where he talked of the need to increase funding for scientific research and development work; the focusing of international attention on defense industry problems, which "go far beyond conversion problems" (the speech at the ceremony where a number of countries' ambassadors presented their credentials); and finally, the recent edict "On the Stabilization of the Economic Position of Defense Industry Enterprises and Organizations and Measures to Provide for the State Defense Order"... This is a chain of logic that inspires confidence in the future of the Russian military-industrial complex.

The discussion of the prospects for the development of military technology and armaments at the Security Council, Boris Nikolayevich said, was "very serious and rather intense." Nonetheless, it was curtailed and will be continued at a future session of the Security Council.

Several session participants moved from the Kremlin, where strategic tasks were being tackled, to Staraya Ploshchad. There, at the Russian Federation Council of Ministers Presidium, they heard figures and examined specific questions connected with the size and content of the defense order.

Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, made his demands relating to the defense order. They differ from the Economy Ministry's proposals primarily in the sphere of preserving technologies in a large number of areas and of conducting research and development.

Viktor Glukhikh recalled the president's demands to increase the proportion of research and development to 10 percent of the overall military order and proposed a number of changes in the actual order.

Talking about the differences between the draft defense order for 1994 and the present one, the chairman of the State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry announced that "it will be smaller" and expressed the fear that a major reduction of resources might result not only in a reduction in our forces' defense capability, but also in major job cuts in the defense complex.

We will give more details on the defense order for next year in a future issue.

Increase in Weapons Exports Planned

LD3011100793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0520 GMT 30 NOv 93

[Text] Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the State Committee for Defense Industries, stated that next year Russia plans to significantly increase its export of weapons. According to the committee's forecasts, actual revenue from the export of Russian weapons this year will be approximately $3.5-4 billion.

Defense Ministry Meeting Discusses Military Trade

PM2911143593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Captain First Class Anatoliy Ryabtsev: "All Trade Routes Lead to Garrison"]

[Text] A two-day meeting of leading military trade personnel from the Russian Federation Defense Ministry has been held.

The report by Lieutenant General Vladimir Churanov, chief of the Armed Forces Rear Services, and the speeches by Major General Viktor Tsarkov, chief of the Defense Ministry's Rear Services Directorate, and the meeting participants highlighted the most vital problems—ensuring that commercial enterprises have circulating capital, concentrating on and improving the quality of trade at garrisons, and delivering goods to the Far North and Far East.

Deputy Defense Minister on Air Defense Forces

LD2711001193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, November 26 (TASS)—"The Moscow Military District's Air Defence Troops are ready to fulfill their battle missions", announced Russian Deputy Defence Minister Lieutenant General Georgy Kondratyev. The Air Defence (AD) Forces just underwent a ten-day conclusive testing period.

Kondratyev, Commander of AD Forces Lieutenant General Anatoliy Kornukov and other officers held a briefing on Friday [26 November] "on the state of the AD in the central region of Russia in conditions of military reform".

The AD Forces in the Moscow Military District are stationed in 24 central Russion regions and defend 17 facilities in the highest chain of government command, 59 facilities in Russia's Armed Forces, 14 facilities which present radiation and nuclear hazards, and 11 large cities and industrial centers.

The Moscow district AD Forces are in the process of being reformed, in accordance with President Yeltsin's decree "On the Organisation of Air and Space Defence", and general military reforms in Russia. However, the conclusive check-up showed that the reforms have not lessened the troops' battle-readiness, according to Lieutenant General Viktor Prudnikov.

The results would have been better if the AD Forces were up to their full strength. Prudnikov said the Moscow AD troops have 85 percent of their maximum personnel and 92 percent of their officers. In comparison, AD troops in the country as a whole can muster less than 50 percent of their maximum number, while 70 percent is considered the lowest permissible level. In order to fill the ranks, the forces need either more draftees, which does not seem likely, or enough finances to hire professional soldiers.

Other problems include financing which comes late, the large number of officers and ensigns who do not have apartments, and deliveries of technical equipment and spare parts, which are not enough.

The officers also talked about the organisation of air and space defences, which will consist of early-warning troops, a system of air and space defence, and control over cosmic space. The AD troops might be renamed to "air-space defence troops".

They also talked about establishing a united anti-aircraft defence system with the other countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States. Prudnikov noted that, despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's anti-aircraft defences have not suffered. However, the state border is not as well covered by radar systems as it was earlier.

Asked whether a second Mathias Rust could repeat his unhindered flight across Russian borders to Red Square, Sergey Rutskiy, the commander of a anti-aircraft and rocket formation, said that such a flight would be impossible now. The systems of control over the country's air space work flawlessly. However, the decision to detain or destroy any offender will be strictly left to the higher authorities, he added.

International Issues

Kravchuk Discusses Nuclear Policy, Ties With Russia

BR2911114793 Paris LE FIGARO in French 29 Nov 93 p 4

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by Renaud Girard; in Kiev, date not given: "Kravchuk: 'The Ukraine Must Pursue Denuclearization'"]

[Text] Ukraine only won its independence in August 1991, but the euphoria which greeted the event is now long forgotten.

The inherited weight of the communist system has crushed the enthusiasm of the young American or Canadian graduates—the grandchildren of Ukrainian immigrants—who returned to the land of their ancestors to help the government in Kiev to build a new society. Most of them have now made the return trip back across the Atlantic, such as the senior manager with the Bank of Boston who gave up a very comfortable salary to take up the post of deputy governor of the new central bank of Ukraine.

After more than two years of independence, Ukraine has still not managed to be rid of its past as a formerly model Soviet province and to set a new path once and for all, in economic and political terms.

With respect to the economy, the strategy pursued by President Kravchuk—democratically elected in December 1991 with 62 percent of the votes—, a mixture of disorganized liberalization and steps backwards toward a planned economy, has led to an unprecedented social bankruptcy. Inflation is verging on 2,000 percent; deprived of raw materials, firms are simply falling down; barter has become the principal medium of exchange; wages have failed to keep pace with prices; people survive only thanks to support within the family and the black market. The "karbovanets", the money issued two years ago in order to leave the ruble zone, has lost more than 30 times its value against the Russian currency—which itself is hardly known for its stability.

More than anything else, Ukraine suffers from its dependency on Russia for energy supplies. The time when oil and natural gas were virtually free is well and truly past. Moscow now demands payment in hard currency at worldwide oil markets. The energy bill alone absorbs 80 percent of Ukraine's export revenue. The people have already been informed that they should not expect their apartments to be heated above 10 degrees centigrade this winter.

Politically, the central authority is relatively stable, thanks to President Kravchuk's skills as a political maneuverer. A former Soviet apparatchik, he has succeeded in steering a course avoiding both the pitfalls of supernationalism and communist nostalgia. But on the international stage, Ukraine is in the process of alienating itself from the powers which were most favorably disposed to this former Soviet province. They are concerned by Kiev's prevarication in the matter of nuclear disarmament.

[Girard] On 19 November the Ukrainian parliament only voted for a partial ratification of the START I Treaty. During a previous interview, in January 1992, you told me that Ukraine would be rid of all its nuclear weapons by December 1994. What is the situation regrading your country's denuclearization?

[Kravchuk] It is true at the time I told you that Ukraine intended to become a nonnuclear state. I maintain this commitment. Ukraine must pursue its policy of denuclearization, because I remain convinced that there is no other solution for it. Ukraine is not going to build up its international prestige and reputation by possessing nuclear weapons, but rather by respecting the undertakings it has made and pursuing its policy of denuclearization. Unfortunately, our parliament failed to ratify all the documents I submitted for its signature. Why? First of all, because the world's other nuclear powers did not work together with us during the 12 months which preceded the START I agreement. They made no effort to understand our particular situation and the concerns of a parliament with which they established no dialogue.

[Girard] What is causing concern to the Ukrainian members of parliament?

[Kravchuk] They fear the territorial claims which are being expressed in certain nationalist circles in Russia. Their vote reflects the opinion—which is widely held here—that nuclear weapons are a means of protection against threats to the integrity of Ukrainian territory. My opinion has not changed: The country must be denuclearized. But the West should understand that a president does not have the authority to run the legislature at will. Fortunately, the text approved by parliament allows me a certain margin of maneuver in order to continue diplomatic negotiations to achieve the conditions for our denuclearization. I intend to make full use of this.

[Girard] If you are a candidate in next June's presidential elections, will you campaign for the Ukraine to be a signatory of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]?

[Kravchuk] It all depends on the legislative elections next March. If the new parliament is dominated, as I would like it to be, by a majority of competent men who are able to understand the country's domestic situation and international interests, I will again go on the offensive. I will do everything in my power for Ukraine to ratify the START treaty, the Lisbon Protocol, and the NPT. But as I said, it all depends on the parliament.

[Girard] Will you stand in June?

[Kravchuk] You will know two months in advance, when the candidates have to register.

[Girard] Dismantling nuclear weapons is an expensive process. What are you expecting from the West?

[Kravchuk] Reciprocal action. The West must understand that the text approved by parliament does not under any circumstances mean that the denuclearization process has arrived at an impasse. It allows the executives in the different countries to continue to work in concrete terms. Rather than speculating on the consequences of this vote, the West would do better to provide me with technical and financial assistance in order to destroy the nuclear warheads! I am also ready to make a gesture to ease international concern. I am ready to start defusing our nuclear missiles and even to dismantle a part of our warheads, while awaiting the time when we can completely dismantle all our nuclear weapon sites.

[Girard] But what specifically do you want from the West?

[Kravchuk] Above all else, security guarantees. You must understand the fears of the Ukrainian people.

[Girard] Are you hoping for defense agreements, or NATO membership perhaps?

[Kravchuk] No, but simply declarations by the major nuclear powers undertaking not to attack Ukraine and, at the same time, to guarantee its territorial integrity. If we receive such undertakings from Russia, the United States, France, and Great Britain, the Ukrainian people will feel they are living in safety.

[Girard] On 1 October the five permanent members of the UN Security Council thanked Russia for its action in maintaining peace in the former USSR. What do you think of this declaration?

[Kravchuk] I find it premature to say the least. Without wanting to judge the responsibility of any of the parties in complex ethnic conflicts, the fact is that Russian troops were often locally involved. Before applauding a country as a "peacekeeper" you must first be sure that its action is not in any doubt.

[Girard] Are the conditions present for Crimea—which only left Russia under Khrushchev— to become a new Abkhaz republic? After what has happened in Georgia with the Abkhaz minority, do you not fear that Crimea, whose population is mainly Russian, will soon revolt against Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] There are two reasons why the situation in Crimea cannot degenerate into a conflict of the Georgia-Abkhaz type. First of all, there is constant dialogue between Russia and Ukraine. At the outset, I took the initiative for a negotiated regulation of all questions relating to the status of the Black Sea—including, above all, Crimea. This initiative was approved by President Yeltsin and the process is functioning. The same applies to the division of the Black Sea Fleet. The different ethnic groups who make up the population in this region must understand that the interests of both Ukraine—in whose territory it lies—and of Russia must be taken into account. Second, the Ukraine has granted almost total economic and social autonomy to Crimea. We do not dictate terms to Crimea.

[Girard] Judging by the meddling of Moscow in the conflicts in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Tajikistan, do you not see a return to Russia's imperial policy?

[Kravchuk] I would not like to state in such a direct way that there is a return to Russian imperialism. But it is clear that there does exist a strong heritage of imperial policy as pursued first by the czars and then by the Soviet Union. We must also remember that there are 25 million Russians living in the territory of the former USSR. It is not realistic to expect Russia to give up all its interests outside its own territory. The United States is able to maintain its interests outside American territory: So why should such a policy be denied to Russia?

[Girard] So what is the problem then?

[Kravchuk] The problem with the Russians is their way of acting, the methods they use to defend their interests. Admittedly, Russian troops were already on the spot in all the conflicts you have just mentioned. Moscow did not send in troops. These troops were faced with very delicate situations, but I believe that they should refrain from intervening in ethnic conflicts. Good intentions are needed on both sides. The local people should not be too arrogant toward the Russians who have stayed behind and at the same time the Russians should renounce any temptations of imperialistic manipulations.

[Girard] How are you going to explain to the Ukrainians that independence has meant heating and electricity cuts in the middle of winter?

[Kravchuk] All countries have gone through difficult periods such as we are going through now. Independence is not the prime cause. It is the transition between two different systems of organizing society. You cannot change overnight from a planned, centralized economy to a market economy. We have chosen the Western model in order to obtain a new quality of life. That means breaking with a lot of things. Under the former system, the Ukrainian economy was fully integrated into the Soviet economy, of which it represented 20 percent. The division of labor—and not regional autonomy—was the rule in the former USSR. We were specialized in processing industries. Under such conditions, how could we build up an independent economy?

[Girard] You have debts of $2.5 billion to Russia. This summer, the Russians had suggested that, in order to repay them, you should sell your share of the Black Sea Fleet. Now they are calling for a share in Ukrainian companies. Do you consider these demands to be justified?

[Kravchuk] We are going to set up mixed companies with a capital open to foreign investors. It is only natural to have industrial relations with Russia. Our companies need its oil, gas, raw materials. In return, we can offer it

our refining and processing capacities. The two countries have everything on which to build mutually rewarding industrial relations.

Kravchuk Discusses START I, Ties, Aid, With Clinton

LD2911201193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1915 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By UKRINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 29 Nov—There was a telephone conversation today between Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and U.S. President Bill Clinton.

During the conversation, the Ukrainian president told the U.S. President about a range of issues connected with the ratification of the START I Treaty by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the socioeconomic situation in Ukraine, and the development of Ukrainian-American relations. The U.S. President expressed a desire to seek a way to resolve problems in implementing the treaty and to help solve difficult questions of economic cooperation. Concrete approaches were proposed in this context, including mechanisms for formulating accords regarding U.S. financial and economic aid toward nuclear disarmament, security guarantees for Ukraine, and compensation for nuclear substances, and for a visit to Washington by a Ukrainian high-level delegation to discuss economic cooperation.

Kiev Displeased With Moscow's Statement on START I

LD2611230693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Chairman of the Ukraine Parliament's Commission on the Chernobyl Accident, Vladimir Yavorivski, who leads the Democratic Party, has called Russia's statement on the ratification of START-I in Ukraine as "a step towards a nuclear stand-off."

He told INTERFAX on Friday [26 November] that "the distance between Moscow and Kiev has been unchanged, and Russian politicians have probably forgotten that the danger from the refusal to service strategic nuclear weapons in Ukraine is facing Russia, too."

Meanwhile, Yuriy Kostenko, in charge of the parliamentary group preparing START-II for ratification in Ukraine, has dismissed the Russian statement as "populist." He emphasized that his republic had not breached a single international nuclear non-proliferation accord.

In his words, the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons makes no mention of such states as Ukraine.

He argued that "the Lisbon protocol is contradictory in legal terms, since it says that Ukraine must destroy nuclear weapons as owner and join the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." He called the protocol's wording "an error of those who compiled and signed it."

Sanctions against Ukraine, he said, would have legal grounds if Kiev ratified the document but left its commitments on paper.

Group To Elaborate Russian Border Issues Accord

AU2911192293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "It Is Beginning To Grow Light at the Eastern Border?"]

[Text] The meeting between commanders of Ukrainian and Russian Border Troops Colonels General V. Hubenko and A. Nikolayev has ended. The generals agreed to create a working group for elaborating an agreement between the two countries on cooperation and interaction in resolving border issues, on the procedure for the operation of the border-crossing points at the Ukrainian-Russian border, and on the joint control of the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait.

Embassy in Moscow Denies Envoy Commented on Warheads

PM3011114393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 93 First Edition p 6

["Statement Following Rebuttal" issued by the Press Service of the Ukrainian Embassy in Moscow"]

[Text] Under the garish heading "Russian Defense Ministry Refutes Ukrainian Ambassador's Statement" IZVESTIYA on 25 November printed an interview by its correspondent with Major General Vitaliy Yakovlev, deputy chief of staff of the Russian Defense Ministry Main Directorate. Commenting on a remark which IZVESTIYA attributed to V. Kryzhanovskiy claiming that "80 dismantled and disassembled nuclear warheads" were dispatched to Russia, Yakovlev claims that the "ambassador's words do not correspond to the real state of affairs."

The Press Service of the Ukrainian Embassy in the Russian Federation is authorized to state that the Ukrainian ambassador did not make any such remark either during the 23 November press conference or at any other time. This also becomes obvious on objective analysis of the transcripts of the press conference—both the one available to the embassy press service and, for instance, the one which was prepared and then circulated to subscribers of the Russian-U.S. FEDERAL NEWS SERVICE agency. Incidentally, nothing of the sort was reported in the VESTI broadcast which IZVESTIYA cites (the embassy has the video recording in its possession). The issue at the press conference was the Ukrainian side's readiness to start carrying out the treaty

straight after ratification by the parliament, which the mass media, including the Russian media, reported straight away.

[Signed] The Press Service of the Ukrainian Embassy in Moscow.

New Embassy Opened in Beijing

LD2911231093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] An official ceremony to open the Embassy of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China has taken place in Beijing. It was attended by Mykola Makarevych, Ukrainian first deputy foreign minister, who is on a working visit to China; the first deputy foreign affairs minister of the People's Republic of China; the Ukrainian ambassador to China; and representatives of the diplomatic corps and governmental circles.

The schedule for Mykola Makarevych's stay in Beijing also envisages meetings with the leadership of the Chinese Foreign Ministry to discuss issues of further bilateral cooperation and certain aspects of international relations that are of mutual interest.

National Affairs

Deputy Foreign Minister on Nonproliferation Issues

LD2911174993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] It is premature to say that Kiev is undermining nuclear non-proliferation guidelines. This is a very complicated issue connected with a more general problem - succession to the former USSR, Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister, Boris Tarasyuk, told Interfax on Monday.

In comments on the Russian government's statement concerning Ukraine's ratification of the START-I treaty, the diplomat said that it was not written in a tone "that should be used by the government of a great power."

According to Tarasyuk, there are countries which really do seek to destroy nuclear nonproliferation efforts. "In defiance of the existing nuclear nonproliferation guidelines, they work to develop and acquire nuclear weaponry. Ukraine is not engaged in this," he stressed.

As Tarasyuk said, as evidence to this is "a unique situation, when nuclear arms became Ukrainian property as a result of succession." "Therefore it is incorrect to say that Ukraine violates the nuclear nonproliferation guidelines. This is not true," Tarasyuk said.

The world community, he noted, is engaged in intensive consultations concerning nuclear nonproliferation. In 1995, there will be a conference designed to consider a future agreement on this issue. "It would be incorrect to say that the Ukrainian parliament had its final say on this matter. Its resolution says that the coming into force of the START-I treaty will enable the Ukrainian parliament to revert to the issue of joining the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The easiest thing to do is to incite passions in connection with the decision taken by the Ukrainian parliament," the diplomat said.

"It is much harder," he continued, "to try to take a constructive attitude to the factors which accompanied the taking of that decision. This concerns the implementation of Article II of the Lisbon Protocol, which Russia opposed all along, even though the document was signed by the head of Russian diplomacy. This also concerns a solution to the problem of fair compensation to Ukraine for the nuclear materials which strategic and tactical nuclear warheads contain. After all, this involves security guarantees," Tarasyuk said.

"Moscow has been promising to give us security guarantees for a year now, but it has done nothing in real terms," he said. "Such promises were given on different levels, including the highest of them. The possibility of granting them even before the ratification of the START-I treaty was mentioned. However, nothing has changed," he said.

"The decision taken by the Ukrainian parliament is their own conclusion taken in connection with a lack of progress, including from the side of our partners, from whom they expect some kind of contribution," said Tarasyuk.

Cabinet Meets, Discusses Crime Privatization

LD2911220393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian cabinet of ministers met on 29 November, chaired by President Leonid Kravchuk, to look into the implementation by the Ukrainian Internal Affairs Ministry of the Supreme Council and government decisions on intensifying the fight against crime (a report delivered by Internal Affairs Minister Andriy Vasylyshyn); on a state program of entrepreneurship support (a report delivered by State Committee for the Promotion of Small Enterprises and Entrepreneurship Chairman Mykola Sydorenko); and on privatization and the program for it in 1994 (a report delivered by State Property Fund Chairman Volodymyr Pryadko).

Andriy Vasylyshyn told reporters that work is continuing to set up a taxation militia and expand the department for fighting organized crime in the credit and banking system, probably to 10,000 personnel. In Andriy Vasylyshyn's words, approximately 600 organized criminal groups are today under observation by the Internal Affairs Ministry.

In Mykola Sydorenko's words, the second stage of supporting entrepreneurship has begun, that is, the support has been elevated to state policy, with the main aim of creating a middle class of proprietors. This year the output of the private sector of the economy represents 17 percent of total output. Production of small enterpruses

is 3.5 percent of the total. Volodymyr Pryadko said that in 1994 9,000 enterprises will be auctioned and put out to tender and 1,400 facilities under construction will be privatized. A schedule of priority privatization has already been approved.

Commissariats Subordinated to Defense Ministry

AU2911192493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 29 Nov 93 p 2

["Ukraine's Supreme Council Decree on the Subordination of Military Commissariats" issued in Kiev on 17 Nov]

[Text] Ukraine's Supreme Council resolves as follows:

1. To determine that the military commissariat of the Crimean Republic, as well as oblast, town, and rayon military commissariats are subordinated to Ukraine's Ministry of Defense.

2. To consider Ukraine's Supreme Council Presidium Edict of 27 August 1991 "On the Subordination of Military Commissariats on the Territory of Ukraine" (Proceedings of Ukraine's Supreme Council, 1991, No. 40, p 537) as no longer valid.

[Signed] Chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council I. Plyushch

[Dated] Kiev, 17 November 1993

Communist Party Leader on Goals, Support

WS2911140094 Kiev KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 6

[Interview with Petro Symonenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, by Yuriy Konstantinov, chief editor of KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI; place and date not given: "We Are Completely Different..."]

[Excerpts] [Konstantinov] At the beginning, I would like to make it clear with whom am I talking. Am I speaking with the leader of a new or an old party?

[Symonenko] The most appropriate definition in this case would be as follows: An old party with a new face.

Our ideological foundations remain stable—the teaching of Marx and Lenin. This fact gives some people the pretext to accuse the party of dogmatism. However, dogmatism is determined not by teachings, but by attitudes toward them. We are for a creative attitude; one which takes into account the mistakes of the past and objective processes of the present.

[Konstantinov] The party, which has repeatedly declared that it bases itself on the muscular arms of the working people (not long ago, the slogan "Workers of the world! Unite!" adorned party membership cards and the front pages of numerous papers), has apparently lost its fulcrum. Its ranks are being reestablished mostly by veterans, retirees, and partially by members of the scientific-technical intelligentsia. The working people are still waiting. Who, do you believe, is the party's social basis today?

[Symonenko] Everybody who supports the idea of social justice.

Nowadays, with the anticommunist hysteria launched by various media, when streams of fabrications, filth, and slanders are avalanching the party, its ranks are being reinforced by people who are faithful to their ideals, and who are ready to follow them until the end. I am convinced that the future belongs to these people. However, the past of the Communist Party was not so obvious. Even the recent past. The Attorney General's Office has twice investigated the issue of Ukrainian Communist Party leaders' participation in the August 1991 events, and nobody has been able to come up with any concrete charges. Moreover, the infamous 1991 decree has not been entirely canceled. It relates to the fate of party property.

[Konstantinov] The officially registered Communist Party of Ukraine obviously pretends to own this property?

[Symonenko] The party's material basis has been developed thanks to efforts by many generations of communists. If we have decided to continue their uneasy struggle, under the present circumstances, you must admit that it is quite logical that we should have the right to enjoy at least elementary conditions for our work. Besides, we do not intend to put pressure on solving this problem. The most important thing today is the organizational establishment of the party. [passage omitted]

[Konstantinov] Let us return to current issues. At one of your party's latest meetings, you very roughly criticized the Donetsk Strike Committee.

[Symonenko] Various forces are watching the Donetsk miners, understanding their power. They are trying to turn them into their supporters. The already established alliance between the Liberal Party of Ukraine and the Donetsk Strike Committee could serve as an example. At a meeting, miners I know said that the striking committees had betrayed the workers' movement. So, the harshness of the statements was not my invention...

The policy of flirting with miners is not far-sighted and leads to a deadlock. Problems in the mining industry and the improvement of miners' lives should be solved at the state level, in connection with problems in other branches and the revival of our entire economy.

[Konstantinov] Does the Communist Party have a chance to regain the miners' confidence?

[Symonenko] Life will answer your question.

In my opinion, there are no principal discrepancies between us. However, the anticommunist sentiment.

which is already deep-rooted in the mass conscience, precludes any closer ties. We are trying to explain to the people that the party has rid itself of the politickers who were seeking power, rewards, and privileges. We are trying to convince them that we are completely different today.

[Konstantinov] Is it true that many leading posts in the new party have been assumed by former secretaries of oblast committees?

[Symonenko] I am the first one...

[Konstantinov] As a matter of fact, I did not have you in mind. Your biography does not give even the most furious foes of the Communist Party any pretext to accuse you of power abuse, corruption, or other traditional sins of the party's nomenclature. However, not all of your brothers-in-arms are insulated against such accusations.

[Symonenko] If communists continue to trust the people they elect as their leaders, this means that these people have not disgraced themselves.

[Konstantinov] One can see the past in different ways. Is it wise to deny that the new Central Committee has been elected predominantly by those who idealize the years of stagnation? Are you concerned by the age of party members?

[Symonenko] I am far from idealizing the situation. I admit that the party is being reinforced mostly by veterans who have retired from professional careers. However, the party is at its initial stage of revival.

[Konstantinov] I believe that a citizen lives in everybody's soul. While I am talking with you, a little voice inside me says: Why do not you ask him about the party's money?

[Symonenko] Oh, not the money again! There has already been a trial by the Russian Constitutional Court, numerous committees of experts, and foreign delegations of different financial investigators. So, where is the party's gold?

Had the party's mythical wealth existed, its enemies would have crucified the communist movement.

[Konstantinov] You have personally experienced the change of attitude toward party workers. Do you have any doubt that your efforts might be vain, and that you have engaged yourself in this fruitless political gamble, having shielded yourself with the revolutionary banner?

[Symonenko] No. The recent years have been very important for me. It is necessary to realize that you are in your element, among like-minded people. I feel sorry for my family... They have not seen me for a long time. My sons have grown up without me. Today, I am a guest in my home: After work, I am preoccupied with party matters...

[Konstantinov] Excuse me, but I do not understand. The office of first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee is a welfare job.

[Symonenko] Of course. I am on leave right now...

[Konstantinov] This is marvelous... Where are you working?

[Symonenko] In Donetsk. I am a deputy chief of the Ukruglemash company.

[Konstantinov] Can the Central Committee exist without a professional cadre of personnel?

[Symonenko] We do not have any professional personnel yet. This way, we can verify the commitment of today's communists. I have not changed over all those years. I am happy, because I have not lost any of my numerous friends.

Unions Issue Letter on Commission Participation

LD2911210793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1339 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 29 November the Consultative Council of Ukraine's Free Trade Unions circulated a letter that was sent to Leonid Kravchuk, the president of Ukraine, and Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, the acting prime minister of Ukraine. It states, in particular, that having examined the letter from Ukraine's Labor Ministry of 17 November, Ukraine's Free Trade Unions cannot take part in the work of the joint commission of All Trade Union Associations of Ukraine.

One of the reasons for this was that when the joint negotiating commission on the General Tariff Agreement (GTU) was formed, the right of the Free Trade Unions to have equal opportunity to represent their members in bodies of the state structure and corresponding commissions, was ignored. Negotiations with the government on the GTU for 1993 have testified that there was no future in the creation of a joint trade union commission since Ukraine's Federation of Trade Unions was not capable of defending the interests of workers and would betray them at the earliest opportunity. The Free Trade Unions are demanding that separate negotiations on the GTU for 1994 be held, and approved a plenipotentiary commission from Ukraine's free trade unions.

Belarus

Party Head: Minsk Attempted To Dismiss Legislature

WS3011091993 Minsk VECHERNIY MINSK in Russian 22 Nov 93 p 1

[Interview with Zenon Paznyak, leader of the Belarusian Popular Front, by Yuriy Svyarokum; place and date not given—first three and last two paragraphs are Yuriy Svyarokum's commentary]

[Text] On 16 November, our editorial board received the following information from BELAPAN:

Zenon Paznyak, leader of the Belarusian Popular Front [BPF], who delivered a speech at the session of the BPF executive council, has declared that, according to his information, some members of the government planned to dismiss the Supreme Soviet and introduce the authoritarian leadership of Vyacheslav Kebich. This concept clarified the presence of militia units with ammunition near the Government House on the day of the opening of the 13th session of the Belarusian legislature. "There was one official who was ready to organize a provocative blood shedding," said Zenon Paznyak. In addition, it was clear that this official was neither Internal Minister Yegorov nor Shirkovskiy, chairman of the Committee for State Security.

We asked Zenon Paznyak to comment on the matter. However, the BPF leader refused to open the actual file data. At any rate, we were able to interview him.

[Svyarokum] You said that this high official was neither Internal Minister Yegorov nor Shirkovskiy, chairman of the Committee for State Security. Who was this someone?

[Paznyak] These are people from the Cabinet of Ministers. The internal troops were subordinated to General Platonov, while Platonov himself was nominated by the Cabinet of Ministers despite a decision of the Internal Ministry Collegium. The entire staff of the Internal Ministry Collegium has twice rejected subordinating the internal troops to Platonov, and spoke against his candidature. Despite everything, the Cabinet of Ministers did not pay attention to this. Hence, Platonov is directly subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers and to Danilov [state secretary for combating crime and for national security]. When journalist Starkevich was not admitted to the Government House, the guards did not obey the orders of Internal Minister Yegorov because they were subordinated to the government and General Platonov. Thus, this military group subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers includes special militia detachments, internal troops units, and a special guard battalion. So, the internal minister has been isolated. These people want to resubordinate the Committee for State Security and the National Bank, that is, all key economic and military structures. The Cabinet of Ministers has been turned into a closed Mafia-criminal structure. This is not a proper government for Belarus.

This is the opinion of People's Deputy Zenon Paznyak.

No doubt, the government could adopt its decisions. However, this decision should have been explained to the people.

General on Fuel, Spare Part Shortages, Air Force Training

WS2911140493 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 16 Nov 93 p

[Interview with Lieutenant General Sergey Sedov, commander in chief of the Belarusian Air Force, by N. Khudenko]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Khudenko] The training year is coming to a close. With what indices are the airmen completing this year?

[Sedov] As regards the quantitative indices, they will be significantly lower than those last year. We have had a lesser number of scheduled flights, training, and combat firing practices. The total flight-time of an air crew have decreased, as compared with last year, by 40-50 percent. I do not think it is necessary to explain what this means in the continuous process of improving a pilot's skill. A pilot, either an ace or a novice, loses his acquired skill and experience, and declines professionally if the rhythm of training is broken.

What are the reasons for such a depressing picture? They can be seen on the surface. It is very problematic to keep the flying stock in working order and combat readiness, if one has no aircraft engines, units, accumulators, pneumatic tires, etc. in store. By now, all these parts are in the so-called neighboring countries. Centralized shipments, of course, have ceased to exist. We are trying to get out of the scrape somehow and make some purchases. However, we encounter many difficulties. We fall short of funds. Besides, even if an agreement is reached on supplies, we have a pretty muddle with banking transfers. Our remittances either wander a long time or come back. And the amount of money for this purpose, to tell you the truth, is pretty big. Just a bit of arithmetic. The capital repair of one SU-27 engine, for instance, costs 80 million rubles [R]. The capital repair of the AN-12 type aircraft costs R33 million. The same repair of an IL-76 aircraft totals R150 million. These costs are evaluated in prices effective as of 1 July of this year. Today, they are still higher, of course.

However, the flying stock is only one category of problems. There is another: a sharp shortage of aircraft fuel. This includes an especially sharp shortage of fuel and lubricating oil for ground technical service.

Nevertheless, not to leave an impression that we are only complaining, I will note: Our aircraft units did not lose their combat readiness. Pilots are on combat duty, young

men fill our ranks, and we look for possibilities to raise pilot skills. And we achieve good results. In this regard, I would like to distinguish the personnel and command of the air bases "Bereza," "Ross," and "Postavy." [passage omitted]

[Khudenko] What are the primary worries and problems of the Belarusian Air Force commander today?

[Sedov] I am thinking all the time how to keep the combat readiness of the air forces at the required level. What to do to prevent the loss of combat skills by the flying personnel.

The Republic of Belarus, speaking metaphorically, has been given good wings. The most experienced flying personnel is here. The most modern equipment is also here. Tradition and experience inherited from the former air army is solid, too. All we have to do is preserve this potential. We need to strengthen our wings in flight.

Unfortunately, this cannot be done easily. Due to a shortage in funds, we are sometimes compelled to drop the most difficult—although very valuable and useful for acquiring combat skills—types of training. These include air fighting, rocket launching, airborne landing, refueling in the air, and others.

My anxiety is also caused by an observable drop in the prestige of the military pilot profession. The air force is often abandoned by the most valuable men. Not because they lost their faith in the profession. Such a step in many cases is caused by material and living problems. First of all, by a low salary, a lack of housing, and social insecurity. In my opinion, it is an extremely undesirable symptom. One may even say, a dangerous one.

Energy Shortage Closes Industrial Enterprises

LD3011115693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0900 GMT 30 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Belarus Ministry of Power Engineering has prepared a timetable for a temporary disconnection of industrial enterprises. The POSTFAKTUM agency reports that most enterprises will work either every other day or every other week. It is thought that some power- intensive productions will be fully closed down for a while.

This measure was prompted by an extreme shortage of electric power, which is widely used for heating residential houses in winter.

Republic Elected Member of UNDP Governing Council

WS3011090693 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Belarusian 23 Nov 93 p 1

[Report attributed to BELINFORM: "Belarus Is Elected to UN Committee."]

[Text] On the 54th plenary meeting of the 48th session of the UN General Assembly, the elections of 20 members to the Governing Council within the United Nations Development Program [UNDP] were held. The members of the Governing Council are at first appointed by the Executive Management Committee and later elected by the UN General Assembly for a three-year period.

In April 1993, the Executive Management Committee named four states—Belarus, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Ukraine—for the three vacant seats for Eastern Europe. In connection with the fact that in the group of East European countries the number of candidates exceeded the number of vacant seats, the UN General Assembly has held a round of secret balloting.

The results of the secret balloting showed that three states—Belarus, Rumania, and Ukraine—have been elected members of the UNDP Governing Council for a three-year period beginning 1 January 1994.

People's Movement Chairman on Program, Aims

WS2911154693 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Sergey Gaydukevich, chairman of the People's Movement of Belarus: "Centrism Is Leading to True Democracy"]

[Text] It seems to me that once insignificant predictions of the upcoming catastrophe and cataclysms are being currently realized in our Republic. We could recognize the evil face of possible future cataclysms seeing smoke emitting from the windows of the Moscow White House and the firing of special militia detachments which had carried away hundreds of lives among the Russian legislature's supporters. Belarus cannot stay on the sidelines of these events because a similar tragedy is ripening in our house. All the former USSR republics have unanimously begun to move toward the bright democratic future, and one after another have begun falling into the "black holes" of economic collapse, civil and intertribal wars, bacchanalia of uncontrolled lying, blood shedding, and violence.

However, one fact can instill hope in us: Belarus is the only republic that had not dived into a whirlpool of the wild market economy and destructive isolation. Hence, we can strive for justice and public order despite the lies, destruction, and chaos ruling in the Republic. The creation of the People's Movement of Belarus [PMB] is the first bright example providing confidence for a better future. The 11 September congress of the People of Belarus demonstrated that a new political organization opposing the ailments of our society has been born. The congress uniting numerous representatives of various political parties, social, professional, national, and age groups from all the regions of Belarus, demonstrated the wakening of a deep self-consciousness among the Belarusian population. The Moscow events have shielded the

importance of the congress; however, their tragic outcome has prompted the necessity to analyze its ideological tendencies, more so, that the congress resolutions have laid the basis for PMB activities.

In fact, the PMB has presented its political program—a concept of people's patriotic centrism—for the congress participants. In order to assess our program I would like to begin with an analysis of the current economic crisis. The centrifugal forces are functioning on all levels of our society. The centrifugal force turned out to be a destructive force that stopped the evolution of society and drove it to destruction, chaos, and catastrophe. The centrifugal forces are not predestined, however, they are initiated by a super-influential layer of the antinational upper classes that withdraw huge profits by robbing the population and attempt to turn the Slavic states into half colonies of the West with the domineering Mafia-intermediary capital. In addition, centrifugal tendencies are geopolitically beneficial to the Western countries that had set their hands to their strengthening and activism. The antinational upper classes include ambitious politicians, mercenary officials, representatives of the intermediary business, and so on. They aim at separatism, confrontation, dismissal of honest managers because under stable conditions, implementation of large scale projects of the antinational forces is virtually impossible.

Opposing the centrifugal tendency is the main sphere of activity for the sane part of society.

In the PMB's opinion, the state should reacquire the function of protecting all members of our society. "Free health protection, free education, protected old age, and absence of unemployment" are the main trends of our activities. In addition, the state should keep public order, stability, lawfulness, public accord, a high level of well-being, and a favorable spiritual and cultural atmosphere. Under these circumstances, we could reach the consolidation of society that will stop the centrifugal tendency and promote the centripetal one. The PMB concept clarifies the reasons, gist, and priorities of our development.

The principal components of this program are:

1. The equal protection of the interests of Belarusian producers irrespectively of the form of ownership;
2. Free health security, education, paying off adequate pensions and benefits;
3. Giving a free hand to workers and peasants by defining forms of ownership;
4. Combatting unemployment;
5. Banning illegal privatization;
6. Giving a free hand to private and collective initiative;
7. Combating crime, corruption, and corrupted businessmen who along with Western neighbors rob our people;
8. Implementation of the rights of the working people;
9. Unification with the former USSR republics.

In the spiritual sphere, the PMB concept of people's patriotic centrism foresees the antagonism of the consumption ideology and the ideology of spiritual assets, patriotism, high morals, preservation of the cultural heritage of Belarus, state bilingualism, and combating "Americanization" of our society.

The PMB inner political aims are as follows:

1. Unification of the sane forces of society able to overcome the ideological divergencies in the name of joint work for the sake of society.
2. Indoctrination of the idea of Slavic fraternity and patriotism.
3. Unification of all honest and virtuous people who are not indifferent to their state.

PMB centrism unites the interests of people and the PMB. The PMB is always in the center, with people outside of the party system. PMB ideology is patriotism meaning love for one's state.

The PMB is constantly growing and developing. This tendency is fostered by the fact that our organization, which unites some 20 various movements, organizations—of veterans, youth, national- cultural, and charity—and only two parties, embraces different ideologies, approaches, and this means the consolidation of a great number of people.

People's consciousness is awakening. The creation of the PMB is a bright example of this process.

Moldova

Medvedev Arrives To Mediate Dniester Peace Talks

LD2911163693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1437 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau November 29 TASS—"Russia is interested in the soonest peaceful settlement of the Dniester conflict and is acting as a mediator at the Chisinau-Tiraspol talks which are to begin in the Moldovan city Bendery today," Nikolay Medvedev, special envoy of the Russian president who arrived in Chisinau on Monday afternoon, told ITAR-TASS.

It is his second visit to Moldova during the past ten days as he went on errand for President Boris Yeltsin who instructed him to promote the soonest realization of agreements reached by Russian and Moldovan leaders on the peaceful settlement of the Dniester crisis.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS Medvedev said that a group of international lawyers and representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry had followed him to Chisinau to carry out a mediatory mission at the highest level.

According to Medvedev, much depends on Chisinau and Tiraspol's intention to meet each other half way without wasting time and jointly work out a special status for left-bank Moldovan regions allowing to reach accord in the framework of integral and independent Moldova.

At the first stage, the talks will be attended by three representatives from Chisinau and Tiraspol. In Medvedev's opinion, the success of the talks will depend on whether the sides will be able to give up irreconcilable positions. Therefore, for the time when the talks are underway participants are expected to refrain from making statements since the sides have different views on ways of resolving the crisis, Medvedev said.

Cited on Talks

AU2911193593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Mircea Dascaliuc report from Chisinau]

[Text] Nikolay Medvedev, special envoy of President Boris Yeltsin and chief of the Department for Territorial Administration of the Presidency of the Russian Federation today arrived in Chisinau accompanied by a group of lawyers of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The guests were welcomed at the airport by a parliamentary delegation headed by Nicolae Andronic, president of the Commission for Legal Questions of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova. Immediately after the arrival, Nikolay Medvedev said that the aim of his presence in Chisinau was to mediate in the conflict that exists in the rayons across the Dniester River. For the time being, the most important thing is not to waste time and to begin negotiations soon, Nikolay Medvedev also said. This is the reason for which a new joint commission was set up, made up of three representatives of the Republic of Moldova, three on behalf of Tiraspol, and one mediator on behalf of the Russian Federation, namely himself.

The implementation of the planned program depends exclusively on the attitude of the sides involved and on their desire to solve existing misunderstandings, Nikolae Medvedev also emphasized. He added that Russia's position on this question remains unchanged and that President Boris Yeltsin is ready to assume the role of mediator to the bitter end, something that will, for sure, lead to the elimination of the current conflict between the Republic of Moldova and the authorities of the Moldovan Dniester Republic.

This evening, the delegation led by Nikolay Medvedev left for Tighina [Bender].

I would also like to mention that the representative of the Russian Federation paid an additional fact-finding visit to Chisinau and Tiraspol last week, as official sources reported.

Also today, Romania's [illegible]assy in the Republic of Moldova organized a doc[illegible]entary movie show in the conference hall of the Republic Center for Culture and Art that marked the main events prior to the Great Union.

Snegur Announces Steps To Protect New Currency

LD2911210893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1903 GMT 29 Nov

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature No. 467; prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] President Mircea Snegur announced numerous steps designed to protect the leu, the country's national currency which was introduced Monday. In particular, no more than 500 lei in cash may be carried out of the country by individuals without a customs office permit, and sales and purchases of goods and services for foreign currency will be banned.

Also on Monday, one leu was officially set to be equal to 1000 ruble-coupons, which had been in circulation until now. One U.S. dollar will be exchanged for 3.85 lei and 100 Russian rubles, for one quarter of a leu (25 bani).

Exchange of old currency for new will continue until the evening of December 2.

Every individual may freely exchange 70,000 coupons. Coupons above that sum will be deposited in a special bank account and will be made available with interest later.

An Interfax correspondent reports that so far there has been no panic. However, numerous cars belonging to factories and offices which need new currency are parked around the National Bank.

The Gagauz authorities have decided that the new Moldovan currency would be legal tender in that area.

For their part, the Transdniestrian authorities have decided not to use the Moldovan leu, but rather to introduce their own currency.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Decrees Referendum for 30 Jan

LD2911171793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1653 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev has decreed that a referendum be held on 30 January on the question of confidence in the head of state. The decision is explained by the need to stabilize and improve the political situation in the country, and to express the will of the people.

Says Move Needed for Stability

LD2911194993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan has decreed to call a nationwide referendum to see whether or not the people trusted him to continue to rule the country.

He explained the move by the need for internal stability, an improvement in the political situation and manifestation of the people's will.

The electorate will be asked to confirm or reject the democratically-elected president's right to continue the five-year term for which he was elected.

Akayev is due to address the nation at 2100 local time, on Monday to explain the public why he is calling the plebiscite.

His formal address the copy of which has now been made available to INTERFAX speaks of instability which may worsen the economic situation and complicate a solution of social and economic problems.

Akayev says the president and legislature lack appropriate legitimacy following the adoption of the country's new constitution and a spate of criticism from parties and movements.

The president said this situation could no longer be tolerated and that is why he was calling a referendum.

Akayev said his action was in line with the principles of democracy and whatever way the vote came, it must help towards greater stability.

Kulov Proposes Abandonment of Government Program

LD2911203793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1741 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By correspondents Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Vice President Felix Kulov told a conference of economists in Bishkek that President Askar Akayev, who is not an economist, had proposed a serious economic plan; one which is in contradiction to the government's reform program for 1994-95. Kulov, therefore, proposed that the government program be abandoned.

In his view, the government has only to run the day-to-day business along the strategic lines that the president has set.

Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev said at a recent news conference that there was no conflict between the government program and the president's guidelines, because the former provides for specific steps in the next two years while the latter covers politics and ideology as well as the economy. In responding to accusations that the president did not have a strategy and the government did not have a program, Chyngyshev emphasized that drafts of both would be presented to the Supreme Soviet.

Foreign Minister Meets Thai Envoy to Moscow

LD2911174593 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in English 0000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] According to the report from the press service of the foreign affairs minister, Minister Karabayev has accepted the ambassador of Thailand to Moscow, who has come to Bishkek with a working visit. [sentence as heard]

Thailand is one of the states of the southeastern Asia. It is a very interesting country. The businessmen of the both countries are going to cooperate in the sphere of tourism and mining industry.

Tajikistan

Commander Updates Events on Tajik-Afghan Border

LD2911202393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1846 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border resembles much of a lull before a thunderstorm and the opposition is most likely to resume military operations in spring, commander of the CIS peace-keeping force in the region general Boris Pyankov told Interfax on Monday.

He spoke of having evidence that several rebel units infiltrated in the area of the Garm Ravine of Tajikistan, dozens in each of them. "We know for a fact that a rebel brigade is being formed in Afghanistan by the well-known Tajik rebel Rizvon who was appointed in charge of opposition forces by the Tajik government in exile."

Pyankov said the CIS force was a target within the potential enemy's field of vision. He said the rebels were engaged in intelligence gathering about the force's strength, combat readiness and morale.

The general says negotiation is the only way out of the situation that emerged. Pyankov himself has held no talks with opposition leaders saying it was up to the Tajik

government to do so. "We have no mandate for any contacts or negotiation with the rebels," he said.

At the same time, the general does not rule out a dialogue with the armed opposition in an effort to try "to dissuade it from attacking Russian posts or infiltrating into Tajikistan."

Dushanbe Mayor Notes Bread Shortage, Attacks

LD3011092293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0855 GMT 30 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 30 TASS—The Tajik authorities have appealed to commanders of coalition peace-keeping forces stationed in Tajikistan to take all bakeries of Dushanbe under their protection and ensure safe transportation of bread to shops.

The city authorities told ITAR-TASS that the appeal was made in connection with the worsening problem of bread shortages in Dushanbe and the growing number of armed attacks both at bakeries and at trucks carrying bread to the destination.

The Dushanbe mayor Dzhalol Mansurov said that the bread shortage was caused not by the declining bread production in the capital but rather by bread speculation and intruders from the neighbourhood re-selling bread. Frequent incidents have been reported in which batches of bread were sold outside bakeries or on the way to shops under pressure of force.

The city mayor acknowledged that the appeal to the military was a forced measure taken under the pressure of circumstances. Simultaneously, the authorities are taking measures to increase the output of bakery products and streamline the rationing of flour which have become the basic food of the population now that shops are almost empty and food is sold at exhorbitant prices on the black market. An operational headquarters has been set up in Dushanbe to exercise control over the distribution of bread and flour products.

Labor Ministry on Plight of Refugees

LD2911175793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1625 GMT 29 Nov 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 29 TASS—About 10,000 refugees who were called by the Tajik government to return home from Afghanistan are homeless and settled in cold clubs and mosques, or simply under canvas, the national Labour Ministry said Monday. Most part of former refugees is now living in the Kumsangir, Bokhtar and some other southern regions of Tajikistan.

The government program, under which every refugee family is to be granted a state donation worth of 200 thousand roubles, is being implemented at a slow pace, the source said. In addition, one-third of the able-bodied refugees are still unemployed and do not enjoy welfare.

The source said repatriants are also facing permanent food shortages as shelves are empty in local shops. Unlike the native population, the repatriants do not have any land plots to support themselves.

A team of experts from the U.N. refugee affairs department who had come to Tajikistan with an inspection visit, recommended the republic's government that it would focus on introducing more efficient measures of personal protection of Tajik repatriants. Many repatriants' communities are suffering persecution and pillage of paramilitary groups not controlled by the government, experts said. For the past three months, twenty people have been murdered and another few persons were reported missing.

A confidential source in the government said all classified information about poor condition of Tajik repatriants will be put on agenda of the Tajik Supreme Council nearest session.

According to a top governmental official, the republic's authorities are trying their best to repatriate all Tajik refugees who fled to Afghanistan in the days of civil combat. Those officials who failed to ensure timely implementation of the republic's program of social and economic support of repatriants will be punished, the official added.

Russian Speakers Continue To Leave

PM3011105393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Report from "Focus of Attention" column]

[Text] Tajikistan's Russian-speaking population is continuing to leave the republic. National statistics attest that the mass migration process which began after Tajikistan adopted the law on state language in 1989 and the certain nationalist upsurge which followed this act has not stopped. In slightly over three years only slightly more than 120,000 of the republic's Russian-speaking diaspora of nearly 0.5 million are now left. In all likelihood by the end of the year this figure will be considerably reduced.

Armenia

Karabakh Reportedly Repulses Azerbaijani Attacks

NC2911221593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The Defense Ministry press service reported that the situation remained relatively calm in Armenia's border regions today.

The Azerbaijani armed formations launched an attack with the support of armored cars against the southeastern sector of the Karabakh war front this morning. The attack was preceded by fierce shelling. Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army press service reported that all the attacks of the enemy were repulsed. Casualty figures are being determined. Relative calm still prevails in the other sectors of the front as of 1800.

Reconnaissance data shows a considerable concentration of Azerbaijani troops all along the battle front. This is forcing the Karabakh Army leadership to take appropriate measures.

Official Criticizes Soviet Decree on Karabakh Status

NC3011111393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1134 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 29 (SNARK)—"When I am asked about the reasons of the Karabakh conflict's escalation, I answer immediately - the resolution on Karabakh, adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the former USSR dated November 28, 1989," Alexsandr Grigoryan, the chief of Information Department of Special Programs' State Office of Armenia, said in his exclusive interview to the SNARK agency. This statement is made in connection with the fourth anniversary of the Moscow's well-known and sad decision, in the result of which Karabakh after 10 months was given again to Azerbaijan's administrative governing by will of the Moscow center.

According to the words of Alexander Grigorian, Azerbaijani leaders, received this "present," went on the Armenian massacres in Baku, accusing the People's Front of this republic of peaceful inhabitants's violence, and began forceful deportation of Armenian majority in Karabakh with the assistance of the USSR internal troops.

This is the reality that forced the inhabitants of Karabakh to declare the independence of the Karabakh republic, and to protect their homes.

"That is why, all discussion on the Karabakh aggressive intentions don't have basis and they are simply immoral even from the big policy's view."

Iran Concerned About Yerevan's Human Rights UN Vote

LD2911174893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Armenia and Iran can develop much broader ties than they have now, the First Secretary of Iran's embassy in Yerevan, Mohammad Farhad Colhein [as received], told Interfax.

According to him, Armenia's abstention from voting at the UN on the issue of human rights abuses in Iran raised on behalf of the U.S. did not contribute to Armenian-Iranian ties. "We are concerned about the relationship between two independent states - Armenia and Iran - developing under the influence of third forces," the diplomat said.

According to Colhein, the Karabakh problem "needs to be recognized and discussed internationally." "Certain conditions, which have not yet been created, are required in order to recognize the independence of Karabakh," he pointed out.

He dismissed allegations that Iranian generals are taking part in training Azerbaijan's army. "Tehran is confident that no military aid can help resolve the Karabakh problem peacefully," he said.

Karabakh Foreign Minister on Iran's Mediatory Role

NC2911211493 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Asked by a staffer at the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Press and Information Department what efforts are being made by the NKR leadership to prevent further aggravation of the tension and check the dangerous development of events, NKR Foreign Minister Arkadiy Gukasyan said that the NKR Government has always supported the peaceful resolution of the conflict and has welcomed international organizations' efforts for the speedy establishment of peace in the region. He added that Karabakh proved its desire for peace by its constructive stance at the CSCE talks for settling the conflict. The signing of the CSCE's latest schedule by Acting Chairman of the NKR Supreme Council Karen Baburyan is further confirmation of this. But Azerbaijan refused this schedule as it had the previous ones.

Asked if the further intensification of the military operations close to the Iranian border is not fraught with the danger of internationalizing the conflict, Arkadiy Gukasyan noted that such a turn of events would certainly have disastrous consequences, and not only for the region already drawn into the war. Nevertheless, Gukasyan hoped that such a thing would not happen. The concern of the international community, and in particular neighboring countries, is naturally not unfounded. Gukasyan added: We know that Iran is making efforts to activate its mediatory role in the

settlement of Karabakh conflict. This is only understandable given the fact that the Karabakh-Azerbaijan conflict is approaching the Iranian border. The historic factor is no less important: These regions were once a part of Persia. Therefore, Gukasyan stressed, it will be imprudent to disregard Iran's mediatory role.

Presidential Press Secretary on CSCE Rome Meeting

NC2911164593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Aram Abrahamyan, the Armenian president's press secretary, held a news conference today. He informed the reporters that the fourth conference of the foreign ministers of CSCE countries will open in Rome tomorrow, and that Armenia is pinning some hope on it. The issue of stepping up CSCE's peace efforts in conflict zones will also be examined in Rome. The aim will be to find a clear mechanism for implementing the CSCE decisions. He said that Armenia's position on this issue had been clearly expressed by the republic's president, whereas Azerbaijan's statements have not been corroborated by practical measures.

The new Azerbaijani leadership's stance on Nagorno-Karabakh does not differ from the previous administration's. They want to solve the problem exclusively through the use of force. This position, the press secretary noted, gets tougher during the winter months when conditions are difficult due to the blockade imposed by Azerbaijan. The Armenian people, the authorities, and most of the political forces know the (?limits) of the existing difficulties, which will not endanger our national and state interests.

Asks Sides To Consider Russian Role

NC3011122493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1042 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 29 (SNARK)—Russia is able to help the Karabakh problem out of the crisis, Aram Abrahamyan, press-secretary of the Armenian president, announced today. According to him, the Russia's suggestions should be seriously considered by all the sides.

Meanwhile, press-secretary mentioned the unchangeable position Armenia is taking—to combine all the peace-making efforts of the CSCE, UN, and to bring the peace-making forces into the zone of the conflict.

Aram Abrahamyan regrets the existing Azerbaijani leadership's position—to use only force methods. According to him, this position is always being intensified at the winter eve. At the same time Azerbaijan hopes the economic blockade will make Armenia and Karabakh bloodless. But winter will come and all the expectations will become futile.

Says Kazimirov Incident 'Settled'

NC3011124593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1042 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 30 (SNARK)—The incident with the Russian Special Envoy Vladimir Kazimirov should be considered as settled, Aram Abrahamyan, press-secretary of the Armenian President, announced today. "I am of the opinion that the incident shouldn't be commented and explained," said he.

Meanwhile, SNARK was informed the Russian Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador Vladimir Stupishin will come to Yerevan back by the end of the week.

Government Reviews Results of Currency Exchange

NC2911153593 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers met yesterday under Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan and summed up the results of the currency exchange and drew up measures to protect the Armenian national currency.

In speaking on the results of the currency exchange, Tigran Sargisyan, a member of the State Commission on Regulating the Currency Circulation, noted that 2.1 million citizens of the republic took part in the exchange, and more than 90 billion rubles were exchanged, and 6 billion rubles were deposited in the saving banks.

Specific cases of non-exchange of currency will be examined by the relevant regional commissions.

At present the following exchange rate is established: 1.10 drams equals 100 Russian rubles; and $1 equals 15 drams.

At the meeting a decision was made to provide the proper amount of foreign currency to ensure the currency exchange.

It was agreed that the taxation and all the financial transactions, with the exception of cases that have permission, should be done only in national currency throughout the republic. Economic, criminal and administrative penalties envisaged by the law will be used against those violating this regulation.

Foodstuffs, particularly butter, sugar, macaroni, and preserves, and industrial goods will be put on sale with prices lower than those existing in the market to prevent inflation. It was decided to establish strict control on the sale of these goods in order to prevent the exploitation of this system.

The government also worked out other measures to protect the currency, and relevant instructions were given to the Interior Ministry, State Directorate for National Security, Justice Ministry, prosecutor general, as well as trade, foodstuffs and procurements, and a number of other ministries.

Azerbaijan

Foreign Ministry Statement Criticizes Armenia

NC2911204093 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 29 Nov GMT

[Statement issued by the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry in Baku on 28 November]

[Text] The Azerbaijani side respects the CSCE Minsk Group's efforts to establish peace. This is evinced by our regular and constructive participation in CSCE's work. However, the Armenian Republic's position remains the main obstacle to a complete end to the bloody Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. The Armenian Republic is trying to evade the responsibility it bears for the aggression it has launched to gain territory, and is using every means to force us to accept the Karabakh Armenians as a party to the conflict. With its actions, Armenia is openly challenging world unity and is totally undermining every attempt for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The Azerbaijan Republic Foreign Ministry is certain that regardless of the steps taken by the Armenian Republic for propaganda purposes, the world community, and particularly the CSCE Minsk Group, will appropriately assess the real position of the Armenian Republic.

[Dated] Baku, 28 November, 1993.

Foreign Ministry Rebuffs Armenian Response to CSCE

NC2911191293 Baku TURAN in English 1431 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Baku November 29 (TURAN)—In connection with the agreement of the Armenian republic and the Armenian community of Nagono-Karabakh to the "revised schedule of urgent measures on implementation of the UNO SC [United Nations Oranization Security Council] Resolutions 822, 853 and 874" we consider, that the world public deals with the next propagandistic mystification, today's statement of Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry runs.

So, the leader of Karabakh Armenians K. Baburyan sent a letter to the CSCE chairman, which runs that the Armenian party is not agree to the clause of the schedule which runs that the term "party to the conflict" does not mean the recognition of juridical and political status.

K. Baburyan also writes, that "under the term the party to the conflict we understand the recognition of the NKR's [Nagorno Karabakh Republic] juridical-legal status of the warring party".

That kind of statement of the question completely contradicts the spirit and the letter of the schedule and this statement is a preliminary condition of acceptance of the schedule by the Armenians. So, this statement reveals the plans of the Armenians—to gain the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan at any price, the statement of Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry runs.

R. Baburyan's words, that "the withdrawal of the Armenian troops from some regions, important for the defense system of the NKR, is very complicated until the Minsk conference is held", are the direct challenge to the UNO SC as well as to the present schedule of the CSCE. By this statement the Armenian party shows, that it is not intend to withdraw its troops from all the occupied regions, as the UNO SC urges to.

Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry does not accept such a free interpretation of the conventional norms of the international law and confirms its adherence to solve all the problems within the framework of its sovereign rights and respect to the territorial integrity, the statement of Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry runs.

Talks Under Way on Russian Troops for Karabakh

NC2911172693 Baku TURAN in English 1431 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Baku November 29 (TURAN)—As TURAN has been credibly told by Moscow, Azerbaijan-Russian contacts discussing the matter on introduction of Russian peacemaking separated forces to Nagorno-Karabakh are held in Moscow.

Earlier Armenia and representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh agreed to Russia's plan. It provided for introduction of limited contingent of Russian peacemaking forces to the region. Now the matter depends on Azerbaijan's agreement.

If Russian forces be introduced to the region, it will allow Armenian party to freeze military-political situation for undefinite period of time. On exchange Azerbaijan will receive peaceful break.

Russian sources state if "Azerbaijan not agree to deblockade energy-transport communications and to introduce peacemaking separated forces Armenian aggression will spread to the north-west of the republic to Ganja".

At the same time, commandant of Russian frontier forces Colonel-General A. Nikolayev stated November 25, "Azerbaijani guidance agreed to participation of Russian forces in protection of southern frontiers of the country".

Musavat Party Ends 'Massive' Struggle Against Baku

NC2911185793 Baku TURAN in English 1431 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Baku November 29 (TURAN)—At yesterday's majlis of Musavat Party its chairman Isa Kamberov stated that Musavat gave up massive forms of struggle against illegal authorities of the republic as in this

difficult moment that could strike a serious blow on the interests of Azerbaijani nation and the country.

It was pointed out, that a month ago present government had come to the power illegally and since their coming economic, political and military crisis in the country had become even worse.

Majlis condemned present policy of the authorities towards mass media and told that political censorship should not be created in the country.

They also criticized the activity of the authorities in economic sphere, in particular, in oil policy.

Majlis decided to address to the government of the country to stabilize the rate of national currency—manat.

'Azerbaijan Publications' Put Under President Control

NC2911204893 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] With a decree signed by Azerbaijani president, the Azerbaijan Publications attached to the Azerbaijani Press and Information Ministry has been transferred to the jurisdiction of the department of presidential affairs.

The decree noted that after the earlier transfer of the Azerbaijan Publications House to the jurisdiction of the State Press Committee for no reason at all, the opportunities for the publication of printed material through the Republic's central governing and administrative organs decreased, the print volume of the state publications fell considerably, and the quality of printed material suffered. The aim behind the latest change is to overcome this situation.

Also, with a decree signed by the Republic's president, Nazim Sadyk ogly Ibrahimov has been appointed the director of Azerbaijan Publications, and Shaddat Mugdat ogly Dzheferov was removed from this post.

Efendiyev Leaves for Economic Meeting in Pakistan

NC2911201493 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Council of Ministers press center reports that Deputy Prime Minister Elchin Efendiyev left for Pakistan on 29 November. He will take part in the conference on humanitarian affairs organized by the Economic Cooperation Council countries.

During his visit, Elchin Efendiyev will also hold talks in various ministries to further develop Azerbaijani-Pakistani relations, and will meet the Pakistani president and prime minister.

Georgia

Shevardnadze on Elections, Crime, Clashes

LD2911235493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Interview with head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani on 29 November; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Oniani] The Supreme Council session on Thursday did not stop the Supreme Council from holding plenary sessions under the state of emergency, and still, as a result of inner conflicts, inner Supreme Council crisis, or other causes, a two-sided concern shaped out, both from the pro-government and opposing sides to call for new Supreme Council elections. Although, it must also be said that the opposition did not accept this [suggestion] with an ovation, despite the fact that they had come up with the same idea much earlier. Do you think that new elections will be the factor which will help political forces, I repeat, political forces of different stance to find a consensus?

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. Good morning. This Supreme Council session served as a good example the Supreme Council itself, democratic forces, and our population in general. I do not want to talk in detail as to why, probably it is a subject for a different conversation, but speaking in general terms, it must be stressed once again that people and the country must be on the alert, we must be on the alert, because the forces that want to push us from the road that we must follow, the road of democratic development and the one that will help us bring the country out of the crisis, these forces exist in reality in our society and in the Supreme Council, too. We must all think about it and whatever happened must seriously be considered.

As for the idea of new elections that I had mentioned in my speech in the context of speeding up work on the constitution and accordingly speed up holding elections, it has been ripened, although it will not happen today, it is impossible to do it in the next month or two, but we must think about it. In my opinion, new elections will lead us to establishing real political forces, real influences, and real authorities.

During the previous elections, every existing party, the regulations of the elections, and the system of the elections were subjected to this aim then, and people could not get a clear idea as to who or what they were electing, they could not get a clear idea about anything. I would say that comfortable conditions were created for electing minority political party members and politicians in the the Supreme Council, comfortable conditions. In the next elections [sentence incomplete due to recording error] I am not saying that it is a bad thing, probably it should have happened this way. It had to be tested, the Supreme Council is kind of a testing zone, to establish

who is who, which party has what influence, how responsible they are, not in words, not in making statements like—we are ready to take power today—it does not mean readiness.

[Oniani] Excuse me, but there was not even such a clear verbal statement in critical moments.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, there were such statements.

[Oniani] Were there?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, there were such statements but it is not important. What is important is that future elections will mean the emergence and establishment of real forces on the arena. This is the way I see the prospects for the new, future elections.

[Oniani] In new elections the Union of Georgia's Citizens, an organization you are heading, will obviously participate. The situation in the country is really abnormal. No light, no bread. We have to talk about the most elementary things. Under these conditions, a voter will not only have faith in propaganda and promises. Will the Union be able to fulfill those aims that will help it to manage the elections well? Like all other political organizations it has to think about it, I believe.

[Shevardnadze] Usually, when a country is in a crisis and in fact a very deep crisis, an opposition force emerges and, using a tidal wave of opposition, attempts to gain extra points, to draw up a new program and to win the elections relying on this program. It naturally hopes to find its stable position in political authorities, in state authorities.

Unlike this, and it is not a common case, the Union of Georgia's Citizens is emerging in the arena not with opposition appeals, slogans, and principles but with a slogan to save the country. It has an idea, aim, and task to save the country rather than struggle against any authorities or any normal political force. It will do this in cooperation with the authorities. If people in the authorities do not serve this task, they must apparently be exposed, certain decisions must be taken about them, and so on.

I do not regard as a very common occurrence of political life that, I am reiterating, in this sort of critical situation a political force emerges without opposition slogans. Although some call it different names, blame it for being a Communist union before it has even been born, and some other things are also said, the main thing is that the people will see the truth about the Union of Georgia's Citizens and will distinguish who is who.

I think a choice, a political choice made by the Union of Georgia's Citizens and the organizations that founded it, is the only right and serious one directed toward the future program for Georgia [as heard]. The Union is a force whose aim shall not be to instigate people's indignation with existing difficulties or to seek a scapegoat. Not many brains or wits are needed for this. Any big or small party can do this. This can be observed in the the Supreme Council as well. You can see that their first and foremost aim is to say that someone did something wrong somewhere. Of course, this must also be on the agenda, but this is not the aim of our Union. Our aim is to carry out an actual struggle for the interests of the population together with the whole people. This is the only way to ease the suffering and find a way out of the present situation.

For instance, yesterday, the just created Board of the Union discussed the issue of bread. I should say, that although members of the board had worked for just about four days, they visited bakeries, shops, met thousands of people, and they prompted quite a lot of significant things yesterday so that we would be able to take practical measures to improve the situation with the bread supply. Yesterday morning we consulted representatives of the Union in provinces in connection with the energy crisis, discussed methods of improving the system, and already yesterday, something was done to use resources available in the country more rationally.

This is what I see: Things that suit the people should be of a primary importance for the Union, but not searching for ways to direct the worries of a distressed person against someone, with the aim of overthrowing this person and taking his place. This is not the aim of the Union. The people and their interests are the principal aim of the Union. Unity of all forces serving the people's interests is the aim of the Union.

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, at the Supreme Council session you also mentioned that the second stage of the state of emergency would be used to destroy the mafiosi syndicates and every criminal would be punished accordingly, regardless of his stand, even if he is a supporter of the present authorities. Taking into consideration the situation in the so-called power structures [Ministries of Defense, Security, and Interior Affairs], how real is the fulfillment of this promise? Pardon me for this type of question. Are there any guarantees to it?

[Shevardnadze] Indeed, the power structures issue is a principal one. Unless these structures are run properly it is impossible to speak about the cornering of Mafiosi structures and their subsequent liquidation, destruction, and so on, and the establishment of order. The present condition of these structures cannot give complete guarantees, but the process of their strengthening is under way and they are maturing in this struggle.

Incidentally, the parliament evaded the issue of current processes in Western Georgia, although I put this issue forward at the Supreme Council session. Had it not been for the invasion [as heard] of the supporters of the former president, we would certainly have had a different sort of order. This took too much time, power, and energy, thus impeding the formation of these structures...

[Oniani, interrupting] Pardon me, this made for the reanimation of certain forces in Georgia.

[Shevardnadze] Indeed, this was the case. However, I have to tell you that what I saw in western Georgia myself, I mean the activities of the Defense Ministry structures, Mkhedrioni of which I have already spoken, police, security bodies, and the Prosecutor's Office, has clearly displayed that these structures are able to solve serious problems. Presently, if there is relative peace, the process of surrendering arms goes smoothly, and order is more or less maintained in the areas where forces of the former president used to ravage, this will have been organized and carried out by these structures. Four or five thousand policemen mobilized from all over Georgia are in the west today. Employees of the Prosecutor's Office are mainly there; officers of the Security Ministry are mainly there; a number of Defense Ministry structures are also there, and you can see the result.

Life can be said to be entering a normal rhythm. A lot is being done to improve the Security Ministry system. A lot of mud was thrown at me in connection with the establishment of the Security Service. The name has been changed but it is not enough. Its interior must be changed, too. I announced a real assignment of the service when I changed its name. I was right and I am right in taking into consideration the people's interest.

The formation of this service should be carried out in accordance with standards accepted in democratic countries and states. Democracy cannot triumph in any country unless the state has security structures of its own. I mean the Security Service as well as the police and other law-enforcement bodies. Whoever criticized me rather ruthlessly at the Supreme Council session, they were incited only be their tiny party and selfish interests.

As for me, I pin high hopes on the police, security services, Prosecutor's Office, and so on, proceeding from what has been done. The issue of armed units is a major problem today. If we manage to keep legal armed units in barracks, and this must by all means be done by the Defense Ministry, a major part of the issue will be settled. If we manage to curb illegal armed units, this will mean a full guarantee of order. In fact, it really is possible. I think that a lot can be done by the Defense Ministry, the security, the police, and I am positive that this issue will be settled, if not completely, at least the population should feel certain benefits in the near future.

[Oniani] In this connection, Batono Eduard, I have a question like this: Information was spread recently that Jaba Ioseliani's automobile had been blown up, and we had a feeling that everything had started again because there was a case like that before. You remember that a little earlier there was an attempt to blow up Gia Karakarashvili's automobile and fortunately it was also unsuccessful. But at least, terrorist activities in politics and generally in our life are going on. There was a very brief report in our press that the Kvareli Woods case had ended [members of pro-Gamsakhurdia armed group arrested in Kvareli area, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment], and the results were recounted in a couple of phrases. There are some court proceedings, investigations, but the population was not informed about this and the population had the impression that nothing was being done.

[Shevardnadze] Terrorism is one of the most dangerous phenomena in Georgia today. Even states, which are in certain discord, unite in fighting against terrorism. Unfortunately, this sort of fighting, like all other processes, proceeds less actively than needed. What happened to Batoni Jaba [Ioseliani] was a terrorist act prepared and planned well in advance, and I demand that the security bodies, the police, and whoever it concerns expose the crime and find the criminal. The case you have just said concerning an incident with the defense minister in western Georgia must also be detected. I know that the investigation is under way. It is not publicized, but I was told that they have serious evidence and the work is continuing. But these are not the only cases. There are a lot of them in various areas.

For instance, a [Tbilisi] city prosecutor was killed, and everyone forgot about it as if nothing had happened. The police, appropriate services in the security, the city, and the authorities forgot about this case. However, I do not know of any terrorist act more obnoxious than this. There might have been some other reasons but anyway, until they are revealed, this remains and should be regarded as a terrorist act. I have to say that what you have said about the Kvareli case evokes serious indignation in me. [passage omitted] With success in the Kvareli case we prevented a major disaster.

Big and vile things were prepared there, approximately of the same scale as later occurred in western Georgia. We prevented this sort of thing and it was reflected only in a brief newspaper report.

I have a great respect for our Supreme Court and its head, a highly educated and well-known public figure, and I believe that he is running this very important institution very well, but I can agree neither with him nor with the Justice Ministry in this case. As the trial finished the whole world should have been told about it. [passage omitted]. Now, we merely think that the trial has finished and no one was sentenced to capital punishment. It is not currently in use and I do not know why. I have already said that it was stupid to abolish capital punishment. It must be brought back into force. Neither newspapers, television, or other media tried to use this case in order to create a climate for struggle and feeling of assurance that no crime would be left unpunished. Regardless of their position, criminals will be punished.

I have already issued instructions regarding fight against terrorism. Special, powerful subunits must be created in the Security Service and the police here, as well as in rayons, and a battle to the death must be declared against terrorism. [passage omitted].

I am absolutely indignant when someone, be it a guard or anybody else, carry guns in the Supreme Council hall. There was a case when someone took out a gun. What is that? It means that elements of terrorism have not been

uprooted even in the Supreme Council. I believe that all this should be done with. It cannot go on like that. [passage omitted]

We are in disastrous situation regarding the power supply. Five high voltage masts have been blown up in Khashuri Rayon [eastern Georgia], and the whole state has been busy restoring it for a month and a half and this must be one of the reasons for this situation. Is a man like this not a terrorist? This is a terrorist act against the whole state, the people, and independence of Georgia. [indistinct passage omitted]

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, you said at the Supreme Council session that an investigation had to expose the reasons why Zviadism became reanimated. What did you mean?

[Shevardnadze] I will give a short answer. When I spoke about reanimation, I meant its becoming a serious armed force, which actually put the overthrowing of the current authorities, a coup, and the establishment of the authority of dark forces in Georgia on the agenda. It is not imagination. It has not happened by itself. Armament and equipment in huge quantities emerged. Finances emerged. Even dollars in large quantities. Their ideologists and propagators emerged with newspapers of a provocative inclination and virtually a provincial Fascism emerged. Not only ideology, but also practice and an actual military force emerged to bring this provincial Fascism to power. All this requires investigation, examination, and [words indistinct]. Then a trial.

[Oniani] Yet another question, Batono Eduard. Dzhokhar Dudayev, the president of Chechnya, has made a statement that time has come for the Muslim world to unite to fight against the United States, the West, and Russia. If such a thing takes place, apart from common interests, can a distinct Russian foreign policy regarding Georgia, and the Western and U.S. policy regarding Russia be expected?

[Shevardnadze] To tell you the truth I was stunned by this statement of Dudayev's. I do not know, perhaps the mass media have exaggerated. It happens. Because I had a meeting with him once in Baku. It is a known fact, and his reasoning was different then and we discussed other issues during a rather interesting conversation. But if it is as has been reported, I think it requires serious attention from everyone. Because a politician cannot just say this sort of thing accidentally. He must have some grounds for saying this and certain guarantees. This sort of a statement must be backed up by certain forces.

I see a great threat behind these words. I see a division in the world. It is a dreadful threat. The division of the world into Muslim and a Christian parts is so dangerous an act, that even if it is mere words, it requires serious consideration from the giants of the world. In the first instance, I mean the United States, great European countries, the whole West, and by all means Russia and its authorities. The Islamic countries, too. I am positive that our neighbor Turkey will never say anything like this and will never share this. On the contrary, its stand is absolutely opposite to this. I am sure that other Islamic countries will also stay far from this. Although there apparently are forces that stand behind the idea. It is a serious matter.

Mankind has failed to make the required conclusions from historic lessons. After the end of the Cold War, very candid [as heard] sentiments have dominated. This is inadmissible. It will cost the whole world dear. Very dear. I believe there should be an appropriate response to this sort of statement, and the response must not only be in words only in action as well. I reiterate that I see a danger of a new division of the world in this statement, and it must not pass unnoticed by the United States, Russia, the United Nations with its Security Council, and the CSCE.

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, elections will be held in Russia in two weeks's time. What are you expecting from these elections as a politician and as the Georgian head of state?

[Shevardnadze] I not only expect but I also think a lot. I cannot say that I have dreams, but I want to be confident that democratic forces will win. One cannot be delighted by impressions the election campaign makes. I am deeply concerned about this.

I have often argued with my opponents—can they not see now that there really are two Russias, democratic and reactionary? They do exist in reality. Let them stop being so naive and let them quit their demagogic stand, persisting that it makes no difference whether Russia is democratic or reactionary. It does make a difference. A reactionary Russia means that Georgia will be wrecked. That is why I attach this sort of significance to the elections and I think that results will depend on how the political forces involved will make use of the remaining time.

There is a little time left but it is not too little for elections. Ten or 12 days is rather a long time for elections, considering that everyone holds something back as a reserve and has certain resources. To my mind, as far as I can see, the democrats lack purposefulness, the sense of necessity to unite. I think a lot can be done in this respect during the remaining period and we can have confidence that democracy will win in Russia.

[Oniani] Finally, this week, or rather on 25 November, Abkhazians and others opened fire on Georgians who remained in Abkhazia. On 30 November, talks will be held in Geneva on this Abkhazian issue and the Georgian side is participating in the talks. After so many disappointments and after so much bloodshed, what significance will results of the Geneva talks have for us?

[Shevardnadze] This meeting is useful in any case. If a peaceful settlement is achieved, that is our aim because we have always aspired to this. If not, the world will once again see the real face of the separatists and will eventually make it easier for us to reach a settlement of the

Abkhazian problem. As for this new adventure, statements were made yesterday, and I want to support the statement, I would like to voice a high hope that the Russian authorities, the United Nations, and the Security Council, will immediately interfere in this case because otherwise, there will be a serious threat to these Geneva talks. This is their side's tested method of making a provocative step before the talks or reaching an agreement. I think this time it is done with the purpose of making the talks fail, and I think that Russia cannot allow this to happen. Russia can influence the activities of the Abkhaz separatists. I think they will do anything required to stop this adventure.

[Oniani] Thank you for the interview.

Karakarshvili Cited on Geneva Talks, Need for Army

LD2911171893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] This is how General Georgiy Karakarashvili, the Georgian defense minister, sees the talks in Geneva. A correspondent of V61 [not further identified], (?Mikhail Viganskiy), interviewed him.

We must use every means to resolve the Abkhazian conflict—talks, meetings, discussions and all—declared Georgiy Karakarashvili. Georgia must have its own Armed Forces: Not a big one, but a fighting Army. This is the only guarantee for Georgian territorial integrity. The political means of resolving the conflict have not been exhausted, but those who sit with us at the negotiating table should know that we have an Army that is capable of ensuring this integrity. When they are aware of this then they will be more disposed to negotiate.

Asked how he assesses the cooperation between the Russian and Georgian Armies, Georgiy Karakarashvili said that the Russian Army has played a big part in preventing the disintegration of Georgia. They helped us a great deal, helped to maintain law and order, especially in the port city of Poti.

Will such assistance continue? The Georgian defense minister said that he hoped that with Georgia's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States, Russia's assistance to Georgia will double. We also are expecting assistance in the resolution of the Abkhazian conflict. [passage omitted]

Delegation Meets Envoy in Moscow, Leaves for Geneva

LD3011112693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] A Georgian Government delegation led by Jaba Ioseliani left Moscow yesterday for Geneva where it will have talks on Abkhazia.

Earlier, after its arrival in Moscow from Tbilisi, the delegation had a meeting at the Georgian Embassy in Russia with Georgian Ambassador Valerian Advadze. The meeting finalized a number of documents which the Georgian side will submit at the Geneva talks.

It is expected that at the Geneva talks the Abkhaz side will propose that the Georgian delegation sign a treaty of confederation between Georgia and Abkhazia. This treaty was prepared by a certain Shamba and The text was published in the Georgian press as early as before the war started [August 1992]. The treaty envisions establishing relations between Georgia and Abkhazia at ambassador level.

Envoy to U.S. Says U.S. Experts To Join Geneva Talks

LD3011130693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The Georgian television morning program Alioni recently broadcast a live interview with Georgian Ambassador to the United States Chkheidze. The interview dealt with the forthcoming Georgian-Abkhaz talks in Geneva.

The ambassador said it has been decided in practice that U.S. experts will take part in the talks. There is still no official information as to their status. The ambassador thinks this can be regarded as an important step forward toward a settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia in Georgia's favor. Chkheidze revealed that he has some information on the possible status of the U.S. experts.

He then said that many international organizations, primarily the United Nations, have an objective position toward Georgia's role in the conflict in Abkhazia. They have adequate information and know well what has happened in this part of the country. As a rule, Georgian political observers complain that the Western public is, if not misinformed, at least poorly informed about events unfolding in Georgia. Chkheidze dismissed this point of view.

Defense Ministry: Abkhazians Concentrate Troops

NC3011114893 Yerevan SNARK in English 1042 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Tbilisi, November 29 (SNARK)—The hard situation on the Georgian-Abkhazian frontline is kept in the Abkhazian Svanetia. As the Georgian Defence Ministry informs SNARK today, the Abkhazian side is going on concentrating military technique and soldiers.

In the war actions' regions there are a lot of refugees, the evacuation of which is complicated by hard weather conditions. According to data of the Georgian Defence Ministry, the required number of people to be evacuated is 740 men, 340 women, 130 children and 1200 refugees from Abkhazia. At the present time Valery Cheydze, the commander of the frontier troops of Georgia is in the Abkhazian Svanetia, familiarizing himself with the situation.

Abkhaz Forces End Search in Mountain Regions

LD2911190493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Abkhazian Defense Minister Sultan Sosnaliyev [name as received] said Abkhazian forces had finished combing the republic's mountain areas looking for Georgian troops taking refuge there after Georgia's defeat in Sukhumi and Ochamchira District in September.

Sosnaliyev told Interfax that, in the course of an operation against Georgian "gangs," the Abkhazians captured three armored vehicles, four howitzers and a large amount of rifles. Up to 35 Georgians were killed and some 50 taken prisoner, he said.

The Abkhazian army's action "is by no means aimed against the civilian population of the republic," Sosnaliyev said.

Abkhazia Denies Tbilisi's Claims of 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD2911194493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1852 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Abkhazia's Embassy in Russia has refuted Tbilisi's assertions that Abkhazian troops are practicing ethnic cleansing against Georgians in mountain villages in the east of the Gulripsha region, Abkhazia. "No violence has been used against civilians, regardless of their nationality," says a statement released by the embassy in Moscow on Monday.

The document notes that Abkhazian forces are pursuing Georgian troops to the mountains. Having recovered after their basic units defeat in Sukhumi and Ochamchira region, these Georgian militants "have been plundering villages in the Gulripsha and Gal regions of Abkhazia." Each raid, the statement claims, "has involved the killing of innocent civilians, pillage, and arson."

Since "after the victory the Abkhazian government has guaranteed all citizens safety, it has no choice but to continue fighting against the remnants of para-military gangs trying to disturb the peace in Abkhazia," the statement stresses.

Meanwhile, Abkhazia's defense ministry reported on Monday that a few dozen Abkhazian servicemen had died in clashes with Georgian bandits. Some Abkhazian troops were listed as missing. Several gangs surrendered armored vehicles, howitzers and antiaircraft installations.

The ministry says that groups of scouts and saboteurs with arms and ammunition have been smuggled into Abkhazia by various routes, which betrays "the Georgian leadership's unwillingness to return peace to Abkhazia and its desire to settle relations with Abkhazia by violence."

Defense Department To Protect Bakeries, Health Units

NC3011121293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1042 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Tbilisi, November 29 (SNARK)—From November 30 the Georgian Defense Department is going to protect the bakeries. The Defense Minister Georgiy Karakarashvili is taking the control of the protection measures.

Press-Center of the Georgian Defense Department informs SNARK the health units will also be protected.

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Estonia

President Meets British, NATO Delegations

PM2911145993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Valeriy Gromak report: "Baltic Countries Open 'Window' to West"]

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri has received military delegations from Britain and NATO. The British delegation was headed by Martin Howard, coordinator of the British Defense Ministry's European cooperation programs. In his opinion, cooperation between Britain and Estonia needs to be expanded. A specific plan for such cooperation will be ratified during Howard's next visit to Estonia early next year.

Lennart Meri also received representatives from NATO headquarters. The meeting discussed questions of the training of military personnel for Estonia in the NATO states.

Two Lithuanian Navy frigates—the Zhemaytis and the Vetra [names as transliterated]—have paid an unofficial visit to the Swedish Navy's Karlskrona base.

The voyage commanders met with the commander of the Swedish Navy and visited a military academy. The Lithuanian frigates have been taking part in exercises in the Baltic.

Laar Interviewed on Russian Troop Withdrawal

WS2611134993 Tallinn BNS in English 1924 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, Nov 25, BNS—Estonia could gain a speedier withdrawal of Russian troops, but it would require the Estonian leadership to go against its principles, Prime Minister Mart Laar said in an interview with Russia's SEGODNYA newspaper today.

Laar said the only things keeping the 3,000 Russian troops in Estonia are political. "Russia, by keeping its troops in Estonia, is trying to keep up some kind of prestige," he suggested, but it's causing Estonia a headache in rising crime rates, as well as the emergence of channels for illegal arms sales.

Answering a question about the country's ethnic problems, Laar said there's no necessity at the moment to amend the citizenship law. But, he added, steps are needed to ensure everyone abides by the law and to improve the language exam regulations for those applying for citizenship by naturalization.

The Russian delegation for bilateral talks between the countries fails at times to gain a deep enough understanding of Estonia's problems, he said. "Sometimes it seems that they are not interested in an objective assessment and that they don't even need it," he added.

Laar also expressed his hope that "now, when President Yeltsin's hands are no longer tied, relations between the two countries will improve."

Assesses Relations With Russia

MK2611112093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 83, 25 Nov 93 (Signed to press 24 Nov) p 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Mart Laar by Mark Levin in Tallinn under the "Neighbors" rubric; date not given: "Russia and Estonia 'Could Cooperate to Mutual Advantage,' Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar Believes"]

[Excerpts] It has been slightly more than one year since the Council of Ministers under Mart Laar came to power. In the prime minister's view, many crucial transformations in the country's political and economic life have been initiated. There is no changing the direction of the country's evolution: Estonia is building capitalism and democracy. Nonetheless, the prime minister himself has just had to launch a new round of his struggle with the parliamentary opposition: 24 members of the State Assembly (that is, every fifth member of the Estonian parliament) gave him a no-confidence vote. This action was preceded by pickets and demonstrations staged by Estonia's agrarians, who protested against the government's economic policy. It was then that there emerged talk of the Laar government's quick resignation. At that time the cabinet and its chief survived. Moreover, neither the government nor its head are going to leave the scene. [passage omitted]

[Levin] Don't you think it necessary to ease the process of granting Estonian citizenship to Russian-speaking residents? Presently it is drawing a lot of complaints: bureaucratic red tape, subjectivity (to put it mildly) of examiners... As for the citizenship law itself, doesn't it need amendments to be more humane?

[Laar] As for the law itself, I do not see any need for amending it. We should improve mechanisms of enforcing the law, the procedure for taking examinations in the state language... Some time in the future we may pass a new law on citizenship in the Estonian Republic—after all, the current law was drawn up over half a century ago.

[Levin] "Some time in the future" means that this matter is not a priority for your government. It is good that we at least agree that it is an issue. Its speedy solution might considerably improve relations between Estonia and Russia: to speed up the withdrawal of Russian troops, to eliminate accusations of discrimination against the rights of the Russian-speaking minority... How do you see the prospects for relations with Russia in general?

[Laar] Now that President Yeltsin has his hands untied we hope that relations between our countries will improve. For there has not been any visible progress in contacts between the Estonian and Russian Governments so far. We have repeatedly noticed, however, that our Russian partners are not inclined to learn in sufficient detail about the essence of what is going on in Estonia—although we have many times invited them to see for themselves whether apartheid is

really so rife in the Estonian Republic, whether the Estonian Republic is really so anti-Russian. At times one gets the impression that they are not even interested in making an objective assessment, do not need it... I hope that a summit between our presidents will be a boost in that respect. I would like to believe that it will help them realize that the Estonian Republic is and will continue to be an independent state whose laws are not discriminatory, let alone inhumane... As for Russian military units that remain in Estonia, let us be frank: the 3,500 that are still here do not make a real army, of course. What is the use of keeping them here? Maybe for political reasons. But if Russia keeps soldiers in Estonia for the purpose of upholding some prestige or playing a foreign policy game, our head aches because of the growth in the already high crime rates, because channels of illegal arms trading multiply... I do not think that either of the countries benefits from this. And this despite the fact that we could cooperate to mutual advantage.

Laar Responds to Farmers' Appeal

WS2911152493 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0859 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From 27 November HOMMIKULEHT, p 4]

[Text] Prime Minister Mart Laar made a statement on Thursday, November 24, answering to the appeal of the Farmers' Association and explaining the government agricultural policy.

Laar denied ever describing agriculture as a branch without future prospects and claimed to have always stressed the potential of Estonian agriculture. He blamed "panic-mongering" commentators and politicians instead for preventing the advancement of rural life. The Estonian farmers have not chosen the best possible protectors, Laar claimed, referring to former heads of collective farms who "had destroyed Estonia's rural life through Socialist large-scale production."

Investigation Into Missing KGB Files Suspended

WS2911125193 Tallinn BNS in English 1423 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 27, BNS—Estonian organizations have suspended their criminal investigation of the KGB files that were allegedly lost or taken away from the Police Department, reports the parliament's Commission for the Investigation of Foreign Intelligence Activity.

The commission, in its statement, referred to information by the Defense Police.

According to information at the MPs disposal, the investigation was suspended because of doubts on whether the files really existed in the archives. Investigators claim they have no sound evidence of the files' possible disappearance as a result of conscious or malevolent action.

Differences have been discovered between the card index of the archives and the existing files, the statement says.

The commission says the reason for suspending the criminal case might by justified and correct, but adds that the lack of order in the archives taken over from the KGB cannot serve as an excuse for not restoring their proper order.

The commission emphasizes that the obstacles arising from disorder in the archives have been removed. This also provides the opportunity to determine the circle of persons who directly or indirectly are responsible for the preservation of the KGB archives, it says.

Country's Northeast Focus of Roundtable

WS2611155493 Tallinn BNS in English 1230 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 26, BNS—Estonia's roundtable group turned its attention Thursday [25 November] to the situation in the country's northeast, which is chiefly populated by Russian speakers.

The area is regarded as the hub of a possible ethnic clash in the country. Thousands of residents there voted this summer for territorial autonomy inside Estonia.

Peeter Olesk, the population minister leading a government commission on the northeast, noted that the problems of that area could not be resolved unless it revived economically.

The factories there were integrated in the Soviet military industrial complex, he said. Now, cut from its customers, the economy of numerous places there is paralyzed.

Olesk called for a more sophisticated mechanism of implementing Estonian citizenship and alien legislation. In its present form it has caused discontent on the part of the Russian speaking population, he said.

The minister told BNS that the area needs two to four years to work out a perfect legislation on ethnic issues. In his view, the country needs new citizenship legislation. Committees are analyzing the proposed amendments, he said. The legislation, he said should be more stringent.

He objected to the current practice of granting citizenship for special services.

The minister voiced his concern that Estonia granted citizenship to people who were not fluent in the Estonian language, and he rejected the idea of introducing a second state language. "This idea is very dangerous," he said. "If Russian becomes a second state language, then there will be no Estonian as a state language."

Survey Examines Popularity of Various Leaders

WS2611135193 Tallinn BNS in English 1924 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 25, BNS—Estonia's Former Prime Minister Tiit Vahi and former parliamentary leader Arnold Ruutel ranked ahead of President Lennart Meri

in a recent survey on which of the country's politicians had best measured up the people's expectations.

The poll, conducted by the Saar Poll agency Nov. 4-11, covered an audience of 1,011 residents. Respondents could name between three and five politicians that they felt met their expectations.

Some 30.3 percent of those asked found it hard to answer the question. At the same time, 9.7 percent of Estonians and 26.3 percent of non-Estonians categorically said no politician existed.

Tiit Vahi, now the chairman of the Tallinn City Council, ranked first in the popularity list among ethnic Estonians with 15.1 percent. Next came Arnold Ruutel and Lennart Meri with 12.9 percent and 12.3 percent, respectively. Prime Minister Mart Laar earned 10.9 percent, and parliament Speaker Ulo Nugis, 9.2 percent.

Edgar Savisaar, prime minister before Tiit Vahi and now deputy speaker of the parliament, topped the list among non-ethnic Estonians with 10.8 percent. Ruutel and Vahi followed with 6.9 percent and 4.8 percent, respectively.

Prime Minister Mart Laar, with 23.8 percent, Interior Minister Lagle Parek and former Pro Patria faction leader Illar Hallaste, both with 22.6 percent, topped the disappointments list among Estonians. Mart Laar, Social Affairs Minister Marju Lauristin, and, somewhat behind, Lennart Meri were the main disappointments for the Russian-speakers, the poll indicates.

Lithuania

Government Approves 1994 Economic 'Forecast'

WS3011094793 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 16 Nov 93 No 221 p 8

[Report by Renaldas Gabartas: "Forecasts for Next Year"]

[Excerpt] A government meeting has approved a forecast for the condition and development of the Lithuanian economy in 1994. The forecast has been drafted on the basis of forecast data on separate industries and estimates submitted by the Economy Ministry, the Statistics Department, the Prices and Competition Service, and specialists of the Institute for Economics and Privatization.

Among numerous tables and predictions presented in a 50-page report, the reader's attention is caught by some particularly important indicators characterizing our economy. For example, gross national product [GNP] in 1993 accounts for only 43 percent of the 1989 level (real wages are 32 percent, respectively), and it may increase only by 1.2 percent next year. The state insurance budget should be about 2 billion litai. The national program of agricultural development provides for considerable subsidies to agriculture (10-12 percent of the budget). Therefore, these subsidies will reach 2.3 percent of GNP in 1994, while the level of profit will remain the same. The "best" result of the annual inflation rate—1,163 percent, which has devalued people's savings by almost 13 times—will probably not be repeated in 1994. Money is supposed to devalue about 30 percent in the coming year. By the way, this is contradictory to the principle expressed in the memorandum signed by the Lithuanian Government and the IMF that the inflation rate should not exceed the 10-percent limit. According to G. Miskinis, director of the Macroeconomic Regulation and Balances Department at the Economy Ministry, a one-digit inflation rate is impossible for the single reason that in 1994 the state will stop supporting heating and hot water supplies to inhabitants, and prices for certain items will increase sharply. The only outcome is a particularly tough policy of restriction, which would mean constraints on production, sale, exports, and credits. Neither the Finance Ministry nor the Lithuanian Bank opposed the aforementioned 30-percent inflation rate. After some insolvent enterprises go bankrupt and the hidden unemployment becomes open, 90,000 people may lose their jobs in 1994. Their number may surge even to 120,000- 140,000 by the end of next year. [passage omitted]

Seimas Chairman Urges Referendum on Joining NATO

LD2911165093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Neither the president nor the Seimas can decide whether Lithuania should join NATO. This can be decided only by the nation through a referendum, Ceslovas Jursenas, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, said at a press conference today.

Jursenas said Lithuania's joining NATO was a very serious issue for the entire country; moreover, the other side, NATO, did not show much enthusiasm about it. Joining NATO would mean certain restrictions on sovereignty, and therefore, a referendum should be held on the issue in Lithuania as done in other Western states before joining the Maastricht treaty, Ceslovas Jursenas said. Apart from this, the possibility of joining NATO should be coordinated with the national security concept and discussed within the context of Lithuania's entire foreign policy.

The chairman thinks an extraordinary plenary session should be devoted to the discussion of these issues before Christmas or the New Year.

As is known Lithuania has not yet submitted an official statement expressing its wish to become a full member of NATO.

Belarusian-Lithuanian affairs were also discussed at the news conference. Ceslovas Jursenas thinks statements unfavorable to Lithuania made lately by Belarusian officials and public organizations should be linked with the internal situation in Belarus, which, according to the chairman, was rather complex. He believes the Lithuanian card was an instrument used by Belarusian political forces in sorting out their mutual relations. However, Ceslovas Jursenas noted, we should not reduce our efforts on all levels to regulate our relations with Belarus.

Speaking about internal affairs, Ceslovas Jursenas also commented on reports about possible changes in the government's composition. The chairman did not confirm such information and said that according to the law, the government was formed by the prime minister and president. There is no doubt the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, the majority in the parliament, can influence this, Ceslovas Jursenas said.

Polish Envoy on Crime, Legal System

WS3011080093 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 11 Nov 93 No 218 p 11

[Interview with Jan Widacki, Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Lithuania, by Frederikas Jansonas and Algimantas Zukas; under the "World" rubric; place and date not given: "Such Is the Price of Freedom"]

[Excerpt] **[RESPUBLIKA] Today, your country is celebrating its 75th anniversary of independence. This is a long period of time marked by the chocking embrace of the USSR from which you managed to escape only in the beginning of the current decade. Lithuania also saw the blue skies of freedom at approximately the same time. Both countries are related through their neighbors' positions and a common history.... However, recently we have been related through an absolutely undesirable phenomenon—a rise in crime that most people see as inseparable from the change of power and the declared state sovereignty. They wait for morning papers with fear of finding more reports about murders, explosions, robberies, thefts, and muggings....**

[Widacki] We feel an upsurge of democracy now. Democracy itself is a set of moral and legal norms to which society adheres in its development. The current upsurge in crime may be a peculiar price for regained freedom. Crime statistics in the Eastern bloc used to be lower than in the West. However, in the East, they were based on politics—there were "no" offenses against the state or violations of human rights.

The crime rate is high in democratic countries. The commonly applied indicator is the number of crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. This figure has not been specially chosen, but the world has gotten used to it. This indicator is much higher in undemocratic rather than democratic countries. It is even higher in countries of the third world, for example, Nigeria, where the crime rate exceeds that of the Unites States three-fold. However, the United States has efficient and democratic police and government control structures. In socialist countries, Mafia structures are often knitted together with government institutions, and this also influenced statistics. In the United States, one could be stabbed in one's side by a Puerto Rican or a Black in the evening, while in the USSR this happened much more seldom. However, statistics kept silent on that.

[RESPUBLIKA] **We have discussed some of the reasons for the growing crime statistics. I doubt whether an ordinary person will feel any safer. We are standing on the threshold of the 21st century and admiring the achievements of civilization.**

[Widacki] I dare claim that in general crime is a function of civilization. Crime depends on its level of development. Crime prevention is a duty of the entire community, and not only of courts and police. There is no sense in accusing these institutions, the system of imprisonment, the prosecutor's office, and others. This would be only a retouching of the situation and not the removal of causes. The so-called penitentiary system does not have such possibilities, and only civilization can accomplish this.

[RESPUBLIKA] **However, life is really becoming dangerous and unpleasant. Neither CNN's informativeness nor triumphant "Panorama" relays can improve it.**

[Widacki] I agree with your statement. The crime rate increased 90 percent over one year (from 1989 to 1990) in Poland. I was deputy interior minister then. I was invited to speak before the parliament because the government had received an interpellation concerning the growth of crime. There were some attempts to accuse only the police, while I explained that they could not be guilty alone. By the way, the same happened in Czechoslovakia. It is not the population increase that was responsible for everything, but the state structures and life had simply changed.

[RESPUBLIKA] **These are only general categories. Is it possible to specify them by defining priorities?**

[Widacki] First of all, this is a change of the state model. The scope of private ownership has expanded, which was a direct motive for crime. Stores full of goods have emerged, where one could steal something. When they had only noodles and bread, no one was interested. People saw good things on television screens or in illustrated magazines and desired them. How? Therefore, the number of thefts increased.

Second, the legal system has changed. Its essence was similar to a logical sequence—the Constitution, laws, resolutions.... However, the new system was not yet finished, while the old one was already destroyed. Legal "loopholes" emerged, and smart people took advantage of them. Poland lost millions of zlotys in this way.

Third, the system of values has also changed. Previously scorned activities have become prestigious. People who were recently termed as speculators are now called businessmen, although the meaning, as well as the manner of their activities, have not changed.

Life has become more democratic. Organized crime is already based on international relations. Borders are open. It was impossible to go either to the West or the East previously. Everyone has a passport now, and millions of people travel because there are no more barriers. Prices differ in various countries, and this is a real klondike for the smart ones. One may bring a few suitcases of "goods" and be well-off for several months.

In the beginning, there is a "market" on a scrap of newspaper, and later—Gariunai [enormous marketplace outside Vilnius]. Unfortunately, racketeers emerge together with competition. The government machine becomes corrupt because it also wants to live well. This is the price for opening the borders. However, would it be better to remain in isolation? The introduction of visas for former USSR citizens may have a certain effect.

We predicted in the early 1990's that crime would increase. We did not believe, however, that it would soar so much. Thefts accounted for 90 percent in the aforementioned 90-percent crime rate. This confirms my previous statements. I do not know whether Lithuania has already reached the peak of crime, but in Poland the situation is gradually stabilizing.

[RESPUBLIKA] **We do not think that this provides any comfort to ordinary citizens on dark streets. The so-called theory of large numbers becomes reality when you come home with a fractured forehead or do not find your car in the morning. Shouldn't we reinforce the police or adopt other measures?**

[Widacki] The crime rate in our country will depend on the way we choose to go. If we seek the German standard of living, this is one thing. If we decide that the Nigerian standard is good, we will have a situation similar to the one in that country. The prosecutor's office and police will be only cosmetics. General prevention is possible only through the community. There were a lot of thefts from homes in Poland once. Having analyzed the situation, we proposed the installation of automatic door opening systems. Wallets were often stolen in the United States. Cash is rarely used there and it has been replaced with credit cards. The police cannot eradicate crime, they can only analyze it. However, their reinforcement has been successful nowhere and has not solved the problem. Moreover, the expansion of police ranks will also entail the infiltration of criminals into them. I have read in the press that such a situation is feared in Lithuania.

[RESPUBLIKA] **However, it is impossible to toughen existing laws and draft new ones. Lithuania has a law on preventive detention that is both praised and criticized, even though the Constitutional Court has not yet replied to the question whether it is compatible with the Constitution and human rights.**

[Widacki] I am not a Lithuanian citizen or an official, but a diplomat and a doctor and professor of law. I do not know a single European country that would have such a law.

[RESPUBLIKA] **You are depicting quite a grim future. We would like to hope that we will pursue the road of Western democracy. We have understood from this conversation, however, that crowds of criminals will march ahead of the community along this road.**

[Widacki] You know, there is such an opinion that crime is like yeast for the growth of society. The development of society is also responsible for crime. For example, we had no such large-scale racketeering as in Lithuania. However, the largest Army in the world was disbanded and demoralized in your country. Firearms and ammunition could be bought with ease. I would not like to state, however, that crime will be the engine of civilization.

[RESPUBLIKA] **However, shouldn't we agree that tougher punishment could affect the growth of crime? What about the death penalty that the world is discussing and for which Lithuania is often accused of cruelty and immorality.**

[Widacki] There is the so-called dilemma of a policeman and a museum director. In the director's opinion, everyone must see a valuable painting. Realizing its value, a policeman would like this painting to be kept in a storage safe with a security man to guard the entrance. This is totally unacceptable to the director. The latter wants a modern security system and believes that the painting must stay on the wall.

In no country tougher punishments were effective for a long time. The death penalty is also a philosophical problem to some extent. It no longer exists in many European countries, and England has it only in its War Code. Poland has the death penalty but only for extremely brutal murders. I believe that about 40 percent of the Polish population would be against the death penalty. I think that it should be applied only for the most serious crimes and terrorist acts, when innocent people are killed, and brutal murders. It is very important that courts make no mistakes, and that everything be coded accurately.

[RESPUBLIKA] **A pardoned person who has been sentenced to death usually remains in prison until the end of his life. However, this also means death—social and personal.... Could such a penalty crown the pyramid of punishments?**

[Widacki] Knowing that he will not receive the death penalty, a person sentenced for life will lose his "measure." He will be able to murder guards and fellow-prisoners, because he will be sure that he will remain alive. Furthermore, he will also see a prospect of escape—a war, a revolution, or an earthquake.... That is why the death penalty remains in our country, but it is applied seldom. Particularly tough punishments are suitable for dictatorships that usually promise to abolish crime. However, this remains only a promise.

[RESPUBLIKA] **Should we then transfer the right to final judgment to a trial by jury, as is the case in many democratic countries?**

[Widacki] I think that if we had a universal recipe for justice, all countries would already be using it. However, a trial by jury is also not the perfect instrument. The most important thing is a precise definition of a crime. I have mentioned that our codes have "loopholes." [passage omitted]

Recent Vilnius Demonstrations Analyzed

PM2611112793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 7

[Vladimir Zarovskiy report: "Democracy Retreats 75 Meters"]

[Text] Vilnius—The unexpected and numerous rallies in Lithuania which began quite quietly and with understandable topical demands for lower prices and higher pensions have turned into demands for new Seimas elections and even the president's resignation. The police guarding the parliament building have been attacked by elderly women and men. All this is reminiscent of early January 1991. Admittedly, it is now Lithuanians attacking Lithuanians. Right-wing deputies, including former Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman V. Landsbergis, see this as the voice of the people, while the left-wingers see in it the "guiding hand" of the right-wingers.

Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas is concerned about the situation. He made a radio appeal to the nation expressing concern about the increased social tension in the republic. "There is no doubt that people's lives need to be made easier, but it is hard to talk to a group of people who confuse social issues with political demands."

The deputies reacted in their own way to the aggressive demonstrators' actions. They returned to the examination of the thrice-postponed law on procedures governing meetings and, despite never-ending infighting, adopted nine of its 20 articles. These articles are very curious. For instance, it is forbidden to assemble in places where demonstrators cynically violate moral norms. Working people can hold rallies no closer than 75 meters away from the Seimas. (According to unofficial information, surveyors were working with the relevant equipment near the Seimas back in October). The figure for other state institutions and diplomatic missions is 25 meters.

History is repeating itself. Last summer when orthodox voters stupefied by the heat lay down on the hot asphalt and beat up left-wing deputies as well as policemen so as to prevent new Seimas elections and keep the right-wing government in place, alarmed parliamentarians banned meetings from approaching closer than 50 meters to their building. This new document is hardly likely to help persuade citizens who are not particularly used to abiding by the law to stop shaking their fists at the yellow windows. New columns of demonstrators with aggressive demands are expected in the capital soon.

Danish Parliament Donates Equipment to Plant

WS2911115493 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1112 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] The Danish parliament donated to the Ignalina nuclear power plant vibrotechnical equipment worth 2.8 million Danish kroner.

As most Baltic countries concerned over the security of this nuclear plant, the Danish experts have decided that the equipment capable of recording all vibrations precisely will help avoid accidents because any break-up begins with vibration. The equipment was manufactured by the world-famous firm "Bruel and Kjer." Its products are valued in Lithuania for their precision and long and repair-free periods of operation.

TELE-3 Owner on Moves To Close Private TV

WS2611121293 Tallinn BNS in English 1123 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Vilnius, Nov 24, BNS—Lithuanian authorities have used every possible club in their bag to swat down TELE-3, a private TV station that broadcasts throughout Lithuania, said Liucija Baskauskaite, the station's owner.

Baskauskaite, a Lithuanian emigre born in the West, came to Lithuania in the years of national revival. She later won in a contest to rent a TV channel, which earlier rebroadcasted programs from the former Soviet Union. All the TV transmitters in Lithuania are owned by the Ministry of Information and Communications.

The private TELE-3 channel mainly broadcasts satellite programs in English, but it is beginning to show more of its own programs, including news blocks.

Apart from TELE-3, the existing television network in Lithuania consists of a channel used by the Lithuanian state TV, a channel used for rebroadcasting Russian TV and one more channel, which shows Polish TV programs and is also rented to the private Baltijos TV.

In an interview with the rightist LIETUVOS AIDAS newspaper, Baskauskaite mentioned a number of cases when authorities found faults with TELE-3 and said that the state television wants the channel to be handed over to a Lithuania-Luxembourg joint venture [JV].

Baskauskaite says 49 percent of the shares in the JV would belong to the Lithuanian state TV, 49 percent would be given to the Television International S.A. (Kinnevik) and 2 percent would be owned by unknown people in Lithuania. According to the plan, the JV would hit the air by New Year's and would continue broadcasts in Lithuania for another 10 years.

Baskauskaite intends to struggle to the very end, to be able to say afterwards that "I tried all possible moves in the development of diplomatic principles," she said.

Lithuanian authorities earlier blocked intentions to create an independent TV station in Vilnius on the basis of capital from Lithuanian communities in the United States and Canada.

Meanwhile, the leadership of the state TV is struggling for a "public TV" status, which would guarantee more democratic ways of financing, compared to decisions of the parliament, as it is done now.